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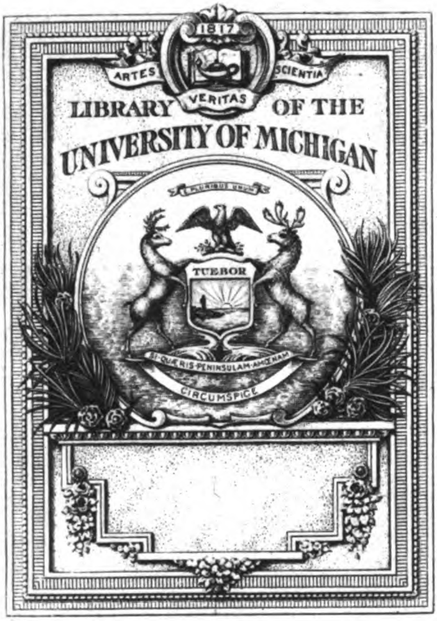

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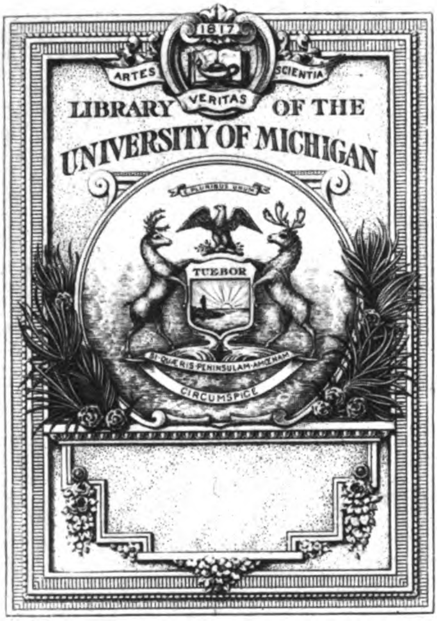
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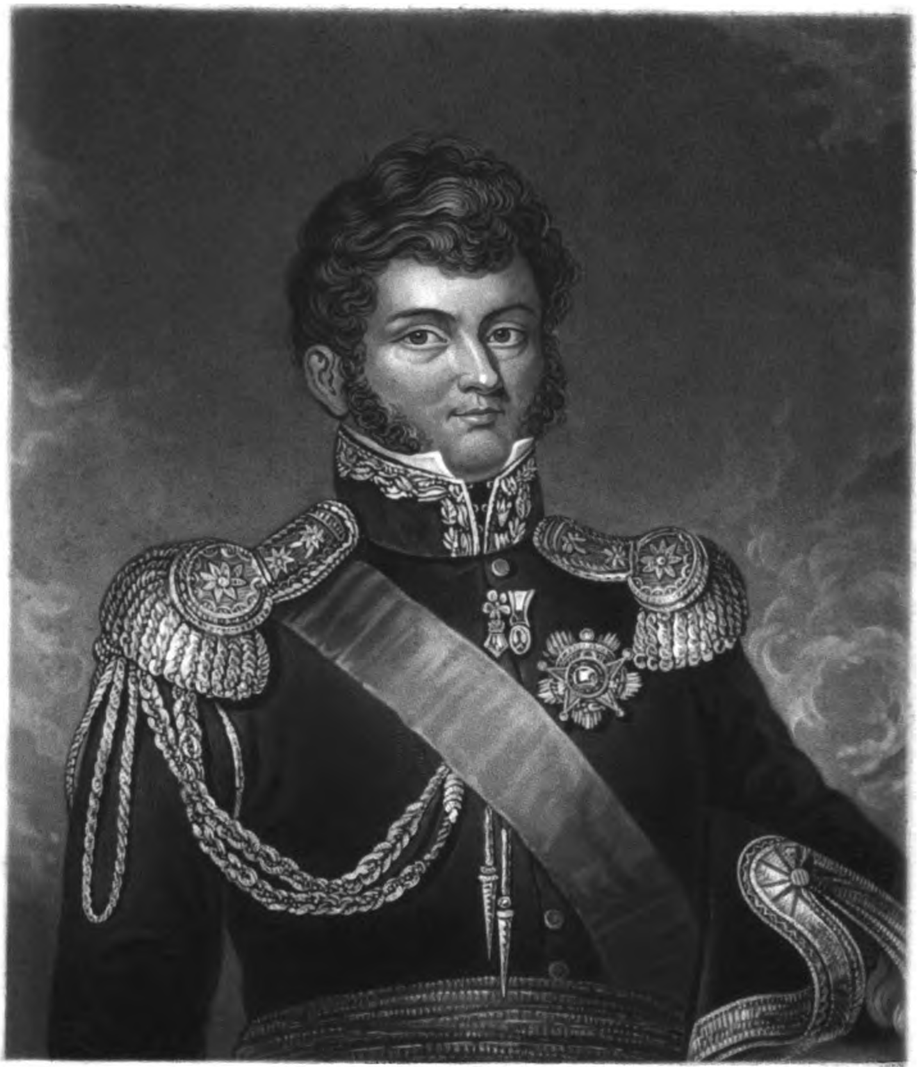

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ERRATA.

Page 140, — 16, — light, *read* tight.
148, — 20, — cocoa, *read* coca.
167, headline, *for* Captain Sowersby, *read* Lieut.-Colonel Sowersby.
215, line 20, *for* amisione, *read* amissione.
221, — 9, — Nacari, *read* Ñacari.
230, lines 19, 20, and 26, *for* Garrate, *read* Garate.
231, line 19, *for* Garrate, *read* Garate.
344, — 7, *for* Carhuamayo, *read* Ninicaca.
399, from 6th to 31st line to be transposed to 8th line of page 391.
401, headline, *for* Hauqui, *read* Huaqui.
427, last line but one, *for* his, *read* this.

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Several months before the resignation of the protector, secret arrangements had been made for the sailing of fifteen hundred men, under the orders of Colonel Miller, to the Puertos Intermedios. The plan proposed was to land at Iquique, and from thence to march suddenly and rapidly upon General Olañeta, whose division of three or four thousand royalists was so scattered in the department of Potosi, that it was supposed Miller would be able to defeat it in detail, especially as it was known that the natives would willingly co-operate with the patriot commander, who was to take an ample supply of spare arms to facilitate the raising of new corps. In the event of success, Upper Peru would have been occupied. In the case of Miller being hard pressed, a retreat to the coast was out of the question; but his division was to cut its way to Salta, which would have been no difficult matter, and where he would have found ample resources in the patriotic assistance of the *gauchos*. When the proposed time of embarkation approached, the plan was communicated, by the protector, to the general-in-chief, Alvarado, who considered the expedition of so much importance, that he offered to proceed himself with four thousand men. The protector acceded to Alvarado's suggestion, but many months elapsed before the increased number could be got ready; so slowly were the preparations conducted. In the mean while the deposition of the active Monteagudo took place, and the protector retired from public life. The *junta gubernativa*, which succeeded, agreeing in the propriety of removing the seat of war to the south, kept on the transports, which San Martin had already engaged and victualled, and continued the preparations for the projected expedition.

On the 25th of September, 1822, the whole of the Peruvian corps at Lima took the oath of fidelity and obedience to congress. They formed on the road to Callao, and a *feu de joie* was fired on the occasion. The appearance of the men and officers was excellent; all were well clothed and equipped. The infantry of the legion under Miller was the only Peruvian corps destined to embark in the expedition to Puertos Intermedios, and it marched, from the reviewing ground, to Callao for that purpose. One hundred and fifty men, with Lieutenant-Colonel Videla and a few officers, were left in Lima to form the second battalion.

Previous to the embarkation of the legion, Mr. John Parish Robertson gave a very splendid ball to the colonel and officers of the regiment. The party was studiously select, and the most lovely of the gay and fascinating fair of Lima were present. Mr. Robertson being a bachelor, the company was received by the Señora Doña Rosita de Panizo, who, a few years before, was the pride of the viceregal court of Abascal, and then as much celebrated for the spirit and taste with which she dispensed her riches, as she is still for her amiable, generous-hearted, and lady-like manners: and, although a beautiful daughter of seventeen years gives to the mother a matronly air, Doña Rosita still preserves her beauty.

The *junta gubernativa*, finding much difficulty in procuring the necessary funds to send off the expedition, and to supply the military chest, as required by Alvarado, ordered a forced contribution of four hundred thousand dollars upon the commerce of Lima, nearly one half of which was attempted to be levied upon the British merchants, who refused to contribute, on the plea that foreigners residing in the different independent states of South America had hitherto been exempted from similar exactions. They set forth, at the same time, the arbitrary manner in which the loan had been apportioned; many English merchants being required to contribute very large sums, while natives, known to be extremely wealthy, were put down for very trifling amounts. The government, however, insisted upon compliance, and severe measures were taken to enforce it. The merchants appealed to Captain Prescott, of H. M. S. Aurora, then commanding the British naval forces in the Pacific. They complained of the hardship and injustice of the case, and expressed their determination to leave the country rather than submit to such an imposition. This officer accordingly addressed an official note to the minister of marine, who, in reply, notified to Captain Prescott the acquiescence of the government to the proposed departure of his countrymen; but he was subsequently addressed by the minister for foreign affairs, in explanation, as was stated, of the former communication; and Prescott was then given to understand that the English merchants would receive no passports until their just debts should be paid, in which it was pretended to include their proportion of the contribution. The injustice of this proceeding was combated by Captain Prescott, who, finding that redress was not to be obtained by a further correspondence, got the Aurora under weigh on the 9th of October, 1822, and, taking his station off the port, prevented the ingress of any British vessel. The executive, much perplexed by this decided step, but unwilling to undergo the mortification of rescinding their former order, referred the correspondence with Captain Prescott to the congress, which, anxious to prevent any misunderstanding with the British naval commander, issued a decree on the 10th, authorizing the executive to withdraw the claim. On the 11th, the Aurora returned into port, and all hostile feelings subsided. The English merchants then agreed to supply the government with a small loan, bearing no interest, to be repaid by specified instalments. They also voted fifteen hundred dollars for the purchase of a piece of plate, to be presented to Captain Prescott, in testimony of his valuable services during the critical period he was the senior British naval officer on the station. The firmness, temper, and perfect knowledge of international rights, which the gallant officer displayed, whenever he was obliged to interfere in questions of delicacy and difficulty, acquired for him the respect and deference of contending Spaniards and Peruvians, as well as the grateful esteem of his own countrymen. The very high state of discipline and fine condition of the Aurora, the good conduct of the ship's company, and the harmony which prevailed amongst them, reflected equal credit upon the commander and upon his officers.

The *junta gubernativa* now directed their sole attention to the sailing of the long talked of expedition to the Puertos Intermedios. After much further delay, and some altercation between the general and the executive, the troops embarked on board the transports in the bay of Callao. They consisted of the following corps:

1st Battalion of Peruvian legion, Col. Miller.		700
No. 4.	Lieutenant-Colonel Sanchez.	700
No. 5.	of Chile.	400
Artillery		100
No. 11.	Lieutenant-Colonel Deza.	350
Reg. of the Rio de la Plata*.	Colonel Corrèa.	1100
† Regiment of granaderos à caballo.	Buenos Ayres.	509
	In the whole	3859

Don Rudesindo Alvarado, general-in-chief.
Col. Don Fran. Antonio Pinto, chief of the staff.

---

* Composed of the battalions formerly denominated Nos. 7 and 8.

† A squadron of this regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lavalle, which had been present at the battle of Pinchincha, did not join the army until it had disembarked at Arica.

The first battalion of the legion, the battalions Nos. 5 and 11, with three hundred and fifty *granaderos à caballo*, and a company of No. 4, in all about two thousand men, under the command of Miller, sailed on the 10th of October from Callao, in the transports O'Higgins, Independencia, Perla, Mackenna, Olive Branch, Dardo, and Nancy. The rest of the expedition, with the general-in-chief and staff, followed a few days afterwards, together with the frigate O'Higgins, Rear-Admiral Blanco. The first place of rendezvous was to be off Iquique, and the second thirty miles S. W. of Arica.

About four thousand troops, including twelve hundred Colombians, remained in the department of Lima, under the orders of General Arenales, who was to advance upon Xauxa, and threaten the royalists in that valley, so as to prevent them from detaching troops to the southward against Alvarado, who, it was thought, would have no difficulty in taking possession of the important provinces of Upper Peru.

The royalists had at this time about five thousand troops in the valley of Xauxa, under Canterac; about three thousand with Valdez, on or near the coast of the Puertos Intermedios; and three thousand or thereabouts with Olañeta, in the vicinity of Potosi; besides a few detachments and skeletons of battalions in Cuzco, La Paz, and other garrisons.

The plan of operations of the independents for the ensuing campaign was considered good. The royalist divisions were very distant from each other, and so separated in one of the most mountainous countries in the world, that it appeared to be an easy matter to attack them separately. The hopes of the patriots brightened, and every thing seemed to promise a speedy termination of the struggle in Peru. The royalists became alarmed by the threatening aspect of affairs. The viceroy La Serna wrote from Cuzco to the minister of war in Spain, that unless he were speedily reinforced from the Peninsula, it would be impossible to continue much longer the unequal contest; for whilst his troops were harassed by being obliged to march almost incredible distances, the patriots, possessing the dominion of the Pacific, could easily transport their armies from one point to another, either to attack his forces, necessarily scattered over a vast extent of territory, in detail, or to retire opportunely whenever they found themselves too much pressed. His excellency complained bitterly of the neglect which his repeated applications for assistance had hitherto met with at the court of Madrid, and concluded by stating that his health had suffered so severely under such trying and harassing circumstances, that he found himself unable to fulfil the arduous duties of viceroy, and therefore tendered his resignation for a second time, begging that his majesty would be pleased to name his successor *.

But notwithstanding it was evident that the royalist generals were often divided in council, and that much enmity existed amongst some of them, they all made every exertion to overcome the disadvantages of their position. Canterac and Loriga were indefatigable in the north; Valdez, on the coast of the Intermedios, was the soul of the Spanish army: his

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* These communications were intercepted by Miller, on his landing at Quilca.

activity, self-denial of every comfort, and the exemplary manner in which he shared the fatigues and privations of his soldiers, combined with his uncompromising severity towards all delinquents, produced the most beneficial effects amongst his followers, and obtained for him the love of his soldiers, and the respect and admiration of even those opposed to him. Olañeta spared no means in Potosi to augment his forces. He was a general of the old school, and had been the companion of Pezuela: he was consequently unfriendly to La Serna, Canterac, Valdez, and other chiefs who had served in the peninsular war. The mass of the population, however, was decidedly against the royalists; so that, in spite of their efforts, the aspect of affairs seemed to indicate their speedy downfall.

In the mean time the *junta gubernativa* had issued orders to enforce levies of recruits in the department of Truxillo and the northern provinces, to augment the division of Arenales: but such was the apathy pervading every department of the government, that the casualties caused by sickness and desertion were scarcely filled up.

Eight-and-forty hours after the first division of patriots had sailed from Callao under Miller, one of the largest transports, the Independencia, having four hundred of his own battalion on board, sprang a leak, and was soon reported to have six feet water in the hold. Boats were despatched from the other transports, and in less than six hours, notwithstanding a rough sea, the men were removed from the leaky ship. One hundred of them were received by Miller on board his own vessel, the O'Higgins, of three hundred and forty tons, which increased the number, embarked in that transport, to four hundred and ten. The rest were sent back to Callao in two small transports, accompanied by the Independencia. The convoy then proceeded on its voyage.

On the night of the 30th, when sailing on a wind at the rate of five knots, with a stiff breeze, the Mackenna, of four hundred tons, through the neglect of the mate of the watch, ran athwart the O'Higgins. The concussion was severe. The mainmast of the latter ship was carried away close by the board. The Mackenna lost her jib-boom, and both vessels were otherwise materially injured in their rigging. They got clear of each other more by good fortune than skill, as the decks were crowded with soldiers, and all was, of course, uproar and confusion. When daylight appeared, the O'Higgins looked like a floating wreck; but fortunately the weather was moderate, and in the course of two days a jury-mast was rigged. The damages of the Mackenna were also repaired, and the convoy again continued its course.

The crews of the transports were a medley of English, North Americans, French, Dutch, and Creoles. Many of the masters were natives, who could with difficulty make themselves understood by the majority of their crew. The vessels had been well provisioned, and watered for fifty days, and it was supposed that the voyage would hardly last half that time.

The soldiers behaved exceedingly well on the passage, and an air of contentment pervaded the performance of all their duties. They were devotedly attached to their officers; extremely subordinate; cleanly in their persons and berths; and sensibly alive to the smallest act of kindness or attention. Three-fourths of the legion were aborigines, and many of them, when they joined the corps, could not speak any language but their own, the Quichua; but they soon learned the words of command in Spanish, and their duty as soldiers, all of which was taught agreeably to the Spanish regulations. They are generally of rather low stature, robust, and beardless, with a bright brown complexion. The rest of the men were mulattos, some blacks, and a few white Creoles, who were generally non-commissioned officers. The band was excellent, and consisted of twenty-two musicians: twelve of them played by note. The salary of the master of the band was fifty-four dollars per month. The music beguiled many a tedious hour, and in the evenings and the moonlight nights the Indians would chant their *yaravis* (plaintive melodies), while the loquacious mulattos related stories, or, with the whites, sang the favourite airs of Lima, for which dissipated city the natives cherish an enthusiastic attachment. The officers on the quarter-deck sang patriotic and national songs; most of them having good voices, and great taste for music. That stern distance and reserve maintained, perhaps usefully, towards the men in some European armies, did not exist amongst the patriots. They would often converse with their officers, and speak of their native villages and the pleasures they had left behind; yet on this account no undue freedom was ever taken. On the contrary, the condescending familiarity of the officers heightened the affection of the soldiers, without decreasing their respect. These ties of regard between officers and men are often found to be, in time of peril, more strong and effective than the deference produced by cold severity, which, if once allowed to relax, is not replaced by any equivalent resulting from mere respect and habits of obedience.

Light and contrary winds prevailed; the transports were dull sailers, and there was every appearance of a protracted voyage. The allowance of water was decreased to three pints a day per man, and thoughts of deep anxiety began to intrude. There was no skilful navigator, or practical naval officer, in the convoy to give professional advice. On the 23d of November each vessel was ordered to make the best of its way to the first rendezvous. The commanding officers of the troops, in two of the transports, came on board the head-quarter ship, to beg some water; but the number of men in the O'Higgins having been augmented, not a drop of that invaluable liquid could be spared.

On the last day of November, the O'Higgins and two of the smaller transports which were still in company were two hundred miles from their destination. The allowance of water was further reduced to a quart per day, and Miller always superintended the serving it out. He had fortunately taken this precaution from the commencement of the voyage, to prevent waste. The soldiers continued to display the greatest good conduct under the torment of thirst.

When the bung of the cask was taken out, it was eagerly caught at, and the man who could get hold of the rag round it considered the moisture he extracted from it as no unimportant addition to his scanty allowance. Upon drinking it at the gangway, the poor fellows sometimes lifted up their clasped hands, and exclaimed with fervency, *gracias à Dios!* (thank God!) Such was their desperate situation, when a breeze sprang up, which infused hope and consolation. All thoughts of attempting to reach the first, but the most distant, rendezvous at Iquique, were abandoned, and the vessels were steered towards Arica, which enabled them to sail with the wind two points free. On the 2nd of December land was happily discovered; and on the 3d, vessels were seen in the port of Arica, where the O'Higgins anchored at noon on the same day, having less than two casks of water remaining. Of four hundred and ten men, not one had died during the passage, and there were only seventeen on the sick list. The feelings and rejoicings of all, on finding themselves again on shore in the midst of their former comrades, can be more easily conceived than described.

Part of the expedition had landed at Arica on the 27th of November, and the remainder arrived in succession, with the exception of one hundred and fifty men landed at Iquique, and sent to Tarrapacá, to operate in the adjoining provinces, and to observe the movements of Olañeta in Upper Peru.

The patriots formed about three thousand five hundred effective men; but as they remained inactive, the royalists had ample time to withdraw all supplies from Tacna and the adjoining country, except such as were concealed by the patriotic natives. Four or five patriot soldiers were made prisoners within a mile of Arica by a party of the royalists, which had the temerity to advance to almost within pistol shot of the whole independent army: the others retired unmolested. Pinto commanded at Arica until Alvarado arrived there from Iquique.

On the 9th of December, the legion, the regiment of Rio de la Plata, and the *granaderos à caballo*, advanced three leagues in front to the valley of Lluta, a position in every point of view preferable to Arica. From Lluta to Tacna the distance is eleven leagues, over a sandy desert. On the 14th, a report having reached the patriot general that Valdez was in the vicinity of Sama, and about to advance, the patriot forces were concentrated at Chacalluta, which is at the mouth of the valley of Lluta next the sea. Although no enemy appeared, Alvarado thought it prudent to withdraw his troops to Asapa, a wide and open valley a league east of Arica. From these cautious measures, if indeed they could be termed merely *cautious*, the royalists began to acquire confidence, and to cherish a hope of being enabled to resist the timid liberators. Some of the directing men of the latter entertained, it would appear, the most awful respect for Valdez, who was at first believed to have at least four thousand men with him, whereas he had only the battalions Gerona, Centro, five squadrons of cavalry, four fieldpieces, and a company of sappers, being one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five infantry, and seven hundred and fifty-seven cavalry, making a total of two thousand five hundred and twenty-two men. These troops occupied *en echellon* the valleys of Moquegua, Locumba, and Sama, having an advanced piquet at Tacna. But what mainly contributed to imbolden the royalists was the knowledge that Canterac was on the march from Huancayo to succour Valdez with one battalion of Cantabria, and one of Infante, each eight hundred strong, and eight hundred cavalry; and that Carratalà with the battalion Partidarios, eight hundred and seventy-one strong, and Burgos, five hundred and forty-eight, was also in the vicinity of Puno, and marching to the same point. Thus, by further procrastination, Alvarado would have to contend with the united divisions of these three generals, amounting to four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four infantry, and one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven cavalry; but even yet there was a good opportunity of attacking Valdez or Olañeta in isolated positions.

On the arrival of the independent troops upon the coast, the natives came forward voluntarily with their mules, having with difficulty and risk escaped through the country held by the royalists. But their enthusiasm cooled upon perceiving the extraordinary inactivity of the patriots, many of whom now fell sick from the effects of the climate. Murmurs also began to break out amongst the chiefs.

During this state of unfortunate listlessness, the discipline of the army was most wofully deteriorating. Acts of extortion were practised upon the country people, whose commodities, which they brought to the camp market, were frequently taken from them without payment.

The patriot troops had already remained inactive three weeks, and the general-in-chief was still undecided as to his future movements. He consulted many of the chiefs, but followed the opinion of none. Miller was called to hold a conference with him, and in order that it might be undisturbed, it took place at midnight in the general's apartments. He requested Miller's opinion as to the best plan of operations. The latter had up to this time carefully abstained from making known his sentiments; but now that his advice was formally asked, he unhesitatingly gave it. He stated his opinion to be, that the enemy's divisions being so widely scattered, and the situation of the patriots so favourable in every point of view, *any* plan the general chose to adopt would ensure success, provided it was an offensive one, either in the direction of Arequipa, La Paz, or Potosi; that no more time ought to be lost, and that, having once determined upon a plan, nothing should divert him from his purpose. The general acquiesced; but, unfortunately, he appeared to be too sensitively alive to every species of responsibility, excepting the greatest of all, which was inaction on an unhealthy coast.

Valdez, with less than three thousand men, was in front of Alvarado, whilst Canterac and Olañeta were separated from him on either side, each at the distance of upwards of one hundred and fifty leagues.

The course which should have been adopted was most obvious. Even to secure supplies it was evidently necessary to advance.

The general-in-chief, vexed at the importunities of Miller, and of other commanding officers of corps, to advance, and which importunities were perhaps improperly urged, told the former that if he were not satisfied he might return to Lima. Miller took him at his word, and re-embarked; but before he could obtain his passport the general sent repeated messages by Rear-Admiral Blanco and others, requesting him to come on shore. An interview again took place, and it was finally arranged that Miller should be employed on a detached service.

General Alvarado, a native of Salta, is an amiable, well-informed gentleman, of highly polished and prepossessing address, who, from the commencement of the revolution, has always been employed, but although animated with the purest patriotism, this really worthy man has been singularly unfortunate as a soldier.

Miller embarked on the evening of the 21st with the light company of his battalion, and sailed to the northward, with orders to disembark on the coast of Camaná, and to divert the attention of Canterac and Carratalà, or at all events, to draw off a division of their forces. The natives were warmly patriotic, and much was expected from them, especially as Miller's name, owing to his previous operations on the coast, was well known.

At length, on the 23d, the regiment of the Rio de la Plata and that of the *granaderos à caballo* marched, under the orders of Colonel Correa, to Tacna, where he arrived on the following day.

The active Valdez was in the valley of Sama with four hundred cavalry, four hundred infantry mounted on mules, and two field-pieces. His men were devoted to him, and he knew he could rely upon their valour under any circumstance. His object was to watch for a favourable opportunity to make a *coup-de-main.* He was positively assured that the patriots in Tacna did not exceed one thousand men. With his flying division he therefore set out from Sama, at four P. M. on the 31st, in order that night to surprise the independents in Tacna. The royalists lost their way for upwards of five hours in the desert, and having wandered about and marched nearly double the necessary distance, did not arrive in sight of Tacna until broad daylight on the 1st of January, 1823. Instead of finding the town occupied by one thousand patriots, as he anticipated, Valdez saw not only the brigade of Correa drawn up to receive him, but also the battalion of the legion, and of No. 11, advancing within a league of the town on the Arica side. With the patriot reinforcement came General Don Enrique Martinez (who had followed the expedition from Truxillo), and, on joining Correa's brigade, had taken the command. The situation of Valdez was most critical. His men and horses were too much fatigued to re-cross the desert; he was too weak to venture upon an attack, and he could not remain on the burning sand. He therefore adopted the only alternative left him, of obliquing to his left, and posted himself in Calana, a hamlet two leagues east of Tacna, and in the valley. At ten A. M. Martinez with his troops marched up the valley towards Calana. Valdez at first did not show any disposition to retreat, and some skirmishing took place. Martinez detached a battalion and some cavalry to the heights, on the right of the enemy. Upon perceiving this movement, Valdez retired two leagues higher up the valley, to Pachia, almost unmolested by the slowly pursuing patriots. It appears that Martinez made so sure of capturing Valdez, that he did not think it necessary to make a serious attack upon the exhausted enemies, who halted eight hours to recover from their fatigues, and then continued their march to Tarrata, fourteen leagues from Tacna. The General-in-Chief Alvarado had not, up to this time, moved from Arica. Valdez, who afterwards acknowledged that he considered all was lost, stated that his casualities amounted to only thirteen killed, wounded, and missing.

Alvarado at last united the whole of his forces in Tacna, and, placing himself at their head, advanced on the road leading to Arequipa, and on the evening of the 13th of January reached the valley of Locumba. Colonel Ameller, commanding the advance of the royalists near Moquegua, having reason to suppose that Locumba was occupied by merely two or three hundred patriots, advanced with four hundred royalists, in the hope of taking them by surprise. In order to effect this the more completely, he crossed the valley, and placed himself on the Tacna side of Locumba, in the rear of the patriots. At daybreak on the 14th, to his great surprise, Ameller found himself within cannon-shot, not of two or three hundred men only, as he expected, but of the whole of Alvarado's army. He immediately made the best of his way to the heights of Candarave. A battalion of infantry and a squadron of cavalry were sent in pursuit by Alvarado, but they did no serious mischief, for Ameller made good his retreat by a circuitous route to Moquegua. He behaved with the utmost firmness and *sang froid*, and his escape was equally honourable to his talents and to his courage. It is singular that he should have made a false and rash movement upon Locumba, precisely similar to that of Valdez upon Tacna. Both originated from want of correct information, and nothing can more clearly prove the incorruptible patriotism of the inhabitants of these districts. It is not less singular that both should have been so strangely permitted to escape, for although they might be called, with great justice, the two best and most enterprising officers in the royalist service, the odds were so much against them, that nothing but the inertness and irresolution of Martinez and Alvarado could have saved them.

The army under Alvarado arrived in the vicinity of Moquegua on the 18th, and halted almost within range of the division of Valdez, which had re-united, and was bivouacked on some adjoining heights. On the morning of the 19th, the patriots advanced. Valdez fell back, disputing every inch of rising ground, to the heights of Torata. There he was joined at half past three P. M. by General Canterac, who had that moment arrived, having made forced marches from Puno. Canterac was accompanied only by a small detachment of cavalry, the rest of his division being a few miles in the rear.

Valdez had chosen his position with so much judgment, that every attempt made by Alvarado to dislodge him proved unavailing, and Valdez, or rather Canterac, part of whose division had now come up, became in turn the assailant. The action was sharp. The regiment of the Rio de la Plata showed a great want of discipline; No. 4 of Chile, and the legion, behaved well. The conduct of the latter, which Miller had left under the command of the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel de la Rosa, drew forth praise from the enemy in their official report. But the patriots were worsted, and Alvarado fell back upon Moquegua (five leagues) in the course of the night. He halted there in a state of great indecision until the 21st, when the battalions Cantabria and Burgos, the cavalry and artillery of Canterac, united with the divisions of Valdez, and advanced to Moquegua, where they found Alvarado strongly posted. A second action ensued. The patriots had the advantage of position, and were not perhaps inferior in numbers to the royalists; but unhappily dissensions had broken out amongst the chiefs; the soldiers had become dispirited; and insubordination prevailed in every grade. A total defeat was the consequence. The royalist official accounts state their own losses in the affairs of Torata and Moquegua at one hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded; which statement is considered underrated. Valdez was wounded, and had two horses shot under him. He, as well as the brave Ameller, was continually seen in the front [*]. Alvarado, Martinez, Correa, and Pinto, fled to Ilo, and embarked with something short of one thousand fugitives. Alvarado could only prevail upon about three hundred of these men to accompany him to Iquique (sixty leagues south of Arica), where the skeleton battalion No. 2 had been left, and whither some dispersed soldiers had directed their course. Upon arriving at Iquique, Alvarado discovered that the battalion had been compelled to embark on the 13th of February, by the royalists under Olañeta, who had marched from Potosi to the coast. Alvarado sent the greater part of his men on shore, in the supposition that Olañeta had retired from Iquique, but who, it turned out, had concealed his men in the village. Upon the patriots arriving, they rushed from their ambuscade, and killed or made prisoners the entire party. Alvarado, unsuccessful at all points, made sail for Lima.

Miller, on learning the fate of his legion, wrote the following letter to the author of these memoirs:

"My first battalion, which cost me so much pains to form, and which occupied all my thoughts for a year, was cut to pieces at the affair of Torata. But it fought nobly; is spoken of by the rest of the army in terms of admiration of its conduct, and of sorrow for its loss; for all agreed that the corps had acquired fame in the midst of misfortune. The firmness with which two cavalry charges were repulsed, after the rest of our army had given way, and the accuracy and *sang froid* with which the battalion manœuvred under a heavy fire, drew forth expressions of applause from Canterac; and yet my brave fellows were almost all recruits: but there was so much *esprit de corps*, and such a bond of union between officers and men, that I always anticipated they would do something brilliant whenever they met the enemy. The high-souled ambition of its youthful commandant, Don Pedro de la Rosa, did not a little tend to raise my expectations. He and Captains Tarramona (who acted as major) and Escobar and six subalterns were killed. They were all from seventeen to twenty-four years of age, my very best officers, and would have done honour to any European service. Besides these, two captains and seven subalterns were taken prisoners, all excepting three severely wounded. Only one hundred and thirty rank and file escaped, exclusive of the light company detached with me.

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[*] Ensign Rivero, of the legion, was amongst the killed at Torata. His body was found on the field of battle by his brother Lieutenant-Colonel Rivero, who commanded a royalist battalion.

"I mourn with a feeling beyond the power of expression for the loss of so many fine, brave, and promising young men who have fallen during this short campaign. My first visits of condolence to the families of my departed friends have been indescribably distressing."

Lieutenant-Colonel de la Rosa and Major Tarramona had served together as cadets in the same royalist corps. They both transferred their services to their country at the same time, and both received captaincies in the Peruvian legion of the guard, soon after it was formed. At the theatre, at the bull-fight, at the ball, at the promenade, or in the field, they were inseparable. Their conduct at the battle of Torata was equally heroic. They advanced several yards in front of their battalion, to within musket-shot of the enemy's line, when La Rosa called out, "Here are La Rosa and Tarramona, once cadets of the royal army, but now of the Peruvian legion, and who desire nothing more eagerly than to fight for their country. Come on, then, Spaniards, and try the courage of the legion." La Rosa and Tarramona retired unhurt amidst a shower of musket-balls. Their contempt of danger inspired their soldiers with enthusiastic valour. The battalion repulsed several successive charges, and did not retire until it was reduced to one-fourth of its original number. La Rosa conducted the retreat with as much coolness as skill, but unhappily both he and his friend Tarramona were killed at the same time at Iquique, each at the early age of twenty-two years, and both were buried in one grave.

The Peruvian government decreed that the name of the Lieutenant-Colonel de la Rosa should be retained on the muster-roll of the legion, and that when called over by the commissary, the battalion should reverse arms, and the adjutant answer, "Died gloriously on the field of battle." A pension was granted to the sister of La Rosa; but it is much to be feared that the posthumous honours; the family pension; and the worth and valour which found a premature grave, are equally unremembered.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colonel Miller disembarks at Quilca.—Camaná.—Siguas.—Victor.—Advance of Carratalá.—Murderer shot.—Carabeli.—Atico.—Port of Chala.—Colonel Manzanedo.—Strategy.—Palpa.—Barandalla.—Cholera morbus.—Port of Lomas.—Dr. Cordova.—The brig Protector sails to Callao.

It will be recollected that Miller sailed from Arica on the 21st of December, with the light company of the legion, and some spare arms to distribute amongst the natives. The brig Protector, which conveyed them, brought up in the roadstead of Quilca, at noon, on Christmas day, close to H.M.S. Aurora; but no communication between the two vessels took place. The only place of landing was at the head of a *caleta*, or small inlet, which was examined, and found so narrow, and the sides so bold and rugged, that a few men might, with perfect safety, prevent the disembarkation of very superior numbers. At sunset about fifty royalists were perceived on the hills. No information could be procured from the neutral frigate, and the silence of many old friends on board was, although perfectly proper, extremely mortifying. Miller's object was to cause a diversion to the northward of Arequipa; but the reinforcements which were to have followed were never sent. Notwithstanding this unfavourable circumstance, he commenced offensive operations with one hundred and twenty men.

At midnight on the 25th, Miller pushed off in a jolly-boat, accompanied by an officer, three soldiers, and a bugleman. An officer and twenty-five men followed in the launch, with orders to put back in case of resistance to the landing of those in the jolly-boat. The surf broke furiously, and tracks of foam across the entrance whitened the foot of the rocks on each side of the mouth of the inlet, and formed eddies difficult to row through in the dark. The adventurous party, however, landed without opposition, for the royalist detachment had already fled to Camaná. The patriots entered the village of Quilca at two A.M., and surprised in his bed the curate, a stanch royalist, who was till then uninformed of the sudden retreat of his friends. At daybreak a patriot advanced guard, posted on the road leading to Arequipa, made prisoner Don N. Aramburu, a native of Spain, who had been despatched by the merchants of Arequipa, to arrange with the commanding officer of the Aurora for the shipment of treasure. He was also the bearer of important despatches from the viceroy La Serna to the minister of war at Madrid, one of which, containing his excellency's resignation, we have given in the last chapter. The intercepted correspondence and other information were sent to Alvarado on the 26th.

Soon after sunset, on that evening, the patriot party marched, and arrived at Camaná by daybreak on the 27th. They were well received by the inhabitants, who stated that the sub-delegate Lieutenant-Colonel Piñera had, about three hours before, fled with eighty men across the river, which runs a mile north of the town, and that he had destroyed the *balsas* to impede pursuit. The river flows in several streams through a very wide bed, the intervening banks being covered with tall shrubs; but although fords are always to be found, excepting during the season in which the snow melts upon the mountains, yet they are not easily hit upon; the height of the river being seldom the same for two days together; and the mode of ferrying across by balsas renders fordable places of less importance. Upon a reward being offered to any person who should discover one, some peasants galloped off. Their zeal was further stimulated by a promise that their cattle, carried off by the royalists, should be restored upon overtaking the runaways. At ten A.M. a peasant returned with the agreeable intelligence that he had been successful. Thirty soldiers and as many peasants, all well mounted, instantly went in pursuit. They found the royalists sleeping in a field eight leagues from Camaná, on the road to Majes. Twenty-five of them were made prisoners, together with the sub-delegate, and the rest dispersed. Seventy head of oxen, some mules, horses, and arms were taken.

Miller re-entered Camaná on a Sunday morning. Before going to the apartments prepared for him he attended mass. The inhabitants, upon his first arrival, were anxious to know what was his religion, and this little circumstance not only satisfied their curiosity, but stamped him throughout that line of country as "a good Christian," which *important* discovery spread rapidly through the district.

Camaná is situated in a semicircular savannah, nearly two leagues in length from north to south, and about half that extent at its widest part from the sea-shore; the back ground being formed by the *lomas* or downs, which produce herbage for cattle in consequence of being moistened by the *garuas*, or heavy mists, that prevail during the greater part of the year. The town is half a league from the sea. There is a tremendous surf on the bar at the river's mouth, and no nearer place of embarkation than the *caleta* of Quilca.

Camaná is a remarkable instance of what can be effected by the application of capital in the hands of an individual of talent and perseverance. Fifty-six years before, it contained only half a dozen huts, and about thirty inhabitants, who drew their chief support from ferrying travellers and goods across the river on *balsas*. A Spanish gentleman, named Flores, who had lived rather extravagantly in Arequipa, devoted twenty thousand dollars, being part of the remnant of a shattered fortune, to the digging of large *axequias*, or channels, which diverted from the river a quantity of water, sufficient to give fertility to ground that now supports a population of five thousand souls, and which might be made capable of supporting ten times that number. Whoever chose to build a house on this property received the unconditional present of a moderate portion of land.

Flores continued to live in an expensive style, and when he died bequeathed ninety thousand dollars to each of his three children by a first marriage, and thirty thousand dollars to each of a numerous family by a second wife, who is still alive, and in the enjoyment of a very fine sugar estate. Another estate, equally valuable, is the property of the heir, Colonel Don José Maria Flores, who is as much distinguished by gentlemanly manners, liberal sentiments, and useful talent, as he is for opulence and hospitality. A third estate is occupied by a junior branch.

Colonel Flores has a sister who is so very deaf as not to be able to hear the loudest thunder. She understands all that is said by watching the motion of the lips of the speaker. In addressing her it is not necessary to articulate sounds, and this was proved in the presence of Miller, upon questions which he proposed, and to which she gave the readiest answers. The family affirm that she can, with almost equal facility, understand what is said by watching the shadow of the lips on a wall. She is married to a French gentleman, who, from his not speaking the Spanish language fluently, she does not so readily understand. Their children, therefore, often perform the office of interpreters, although none appeared to have been necessary previous to their tying the matrimonial knot.

This French gentleman had, during a residence of twenty-three years in Peru, forgotten his native language, of which he was not aware until he visited a French ship of war, which anchored off Quilca in 1823. Feeling a desire to become acquainted with his countrymen, he loaded a boat with fresh meat, poultry, fruit, and vegetables, and went off to pay his respects to the commander. On arriving on board, he unexpectedly found himself at a loss for words, and, although he understood all that was said to him, he was unable to answer in French. He described the effect upon his own mind as distressingly mortifying; but the difficulty lasted no longer than the second day.

The following anecdote does not belong to this place, but it will show the possibility of a man losing his native language without acquiring any other.

A lad left Milan to seek his fortune, and resided two or three years in Paris. He passed three or four years in England, and then proceeded to Chile. He expresses himself imperfectly in French, English, and Spanish, but says he has altogether lost the knowledge of Italian. He is an honest, obliging, pains-taking man, and at one time had accumulated several thousand dollars, which he subsequently lost at play. At the time he related his story he was owner and navigator of a coasting vessel of fifty tons burden. On being asked what he intended to do if he made a second fortune, he answered: "If I make five hundred pounds a-year, I will go to London, and live like a gentleman. If I make only one hundred pounds a-year, I must go to my own country, where with that I can live like an Italian prince."

A new governor was named for the province of Camaná, and the patriot commander placed himself in communication with some inhabitants of Arequipa, known to be favourable to the cause. From these sources were obtained copies of official returns of the disposable force of Valdez, and information that Canterac had detached from Puno, ninety leagues north-east of Camaná, to oppose Miller's advance, the battalion of Partidarios, above nine hundred strong, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cobos; a squadron of cavalry, one hundred and eighty strong, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferraz; and two field-pieces, Colonel Cacho; all under the orders of General Carratalá. The battalion of Cazadores, six hundred strong, Colonel Manzanedo, was at the same time ordered to march against Miller from the province of Parinacochas. Thus the projected diversion completely succeeded; for nearly two thousand royalists were drawn from distant points, and prevented from acting against Alvarado at Torata and Moquegua.

Miller left Camaná on the 30th of December, accompanied by fourteen soldiers, and crossed the desert of Siguas, a valley eighteen leagues on the road to Arequipa, to reconnoitre. At Siguas, the royalist Captain Urdiminea, who had been sent from Arequipa to learn what troops had landed at Quilca, was made prisoner by the inhabitants, instigated by the distinguished patriot Colonel Romero, a highly respectable proprietor in the valley, and who now joined Miller with heart and hand. Urdiminea confirmed the intelligence of Carratalá's advance, and gave reason to suppose that the general was already at Arequipa, through which city he was described as likely to pass without halting, that he might the sooner pay his respects to the patriots.

Miller's force being so inferior in numbers, he had recourse to stratagem. He wrote to the governor of Arequipa, intimating that the independent troops were advancing, and would, shortly after his excellency received that communication, enter the city; that he considered it a duty, as it was hoped the governor of Arequipa would consider it his, to prevent any popular commotion on the sudden change of authorities; and that if the latter chose to leave a piquet for the protection of private property, and the maintenance of order, that that piquet should be allowed to depart unmolested in any direction the governor might be pleased to point out. This *ruse de guerre* succeeded, for the royalists were fully persuaded that Miller's force was very considerable. The bishop and other adherents to the king began to pack up their valuables preparatory to flight. The hire of a baggage-mule to Cuzco rose suddenly from six to sixty dollars. The summons was sent by a peasant, who had served as guide to the prisoner Urdiminea, and who, upon being taken, had been ordered to prepare for the punishment due to a spy. It was contrived that this peasant should be confined where he could overhear orders given for the encampment of troops reported every half hour to have arrived. When the desired impression was made, a pardon was offered to him, on condition that he should deliver a letter to the governor of Arequipa, to which he readily consented. He was charged to tell the royalists that the independents were only few in number, and to say that he was not at liberty to divulge, even to the best patriots, that Miller had a force exceeding four hundred men, because his secret object was to take the royalists by surprise. The soldiers, together with some natives of the valley, were placed in conspicuous situations, keeping up blazing fires. The liberated guide placed the packet in his hat, and galloped off. At dusk of the same evening Miller set out for the valley of Vitor, eight leagues in advance, accompanied by two chosen soldiers, a bugleman, three peasants, and an old black servant, each individual leading a spare horse. They galloped across the sandy desert, guided by the wind, which always blows in the same direction. Miller's object was to pick up a prisoner or two from the Spanish advanced post of seventeen men at Vitor; but the terrified bearer of the summons, on his way to Arequipa in the morning, having declared to the commanding officer (Captain Reyes) that he had seen *with his own eyes* eight hundred mounted patriots at Siguas, the prudent officer retired with his men. Upon Miller's arriving at midnight at the bold line of sand-hills which overlooks and encloses the long valley of Vitor, an advanced party of unarmed Indians were taken half way down the descent. They informed Miller that the party of Reyes had decamped, but that another royalist officer and ten dragoons had just descended the hill, and might be then crossing the river, to which they immediately became guides; but the flood had so increased, that it was found to be impassable.

The patriot party then directed its course up the valley, and looked about among the straggling cottages. On entering one that had a *patio*, or inner court, Miller saw a negress, and asked her if the royalists were there. Misunderstanding the question, she answered "Si, señor," and pointed to a room. He gave a whistle, and his men in the rear rushed in. Miller's black servant caught hold of a man in bed by the throat, and flourished a long knife over his head. This was the *alcalde* of the valley, who, awaking from his sleep, thought himself assailed by banditti, and roared lustily for mercy. Upon being apprised of their intentions, the affrighted *alcalde* dressed himself; got upon one of his own horses, and acted as guide in the further search. On proceeding up the valley, the party came suddenly upon a mounted sentinel. He was immediately secured; and, upon entering a hut, they found the royalist Lieutenant-Colonel Vidal drying his clothes by a fire, having been completely soaked in an attempt to ford the river. Five of his men were taken, but afterwards permitted to escape, as the others had been. Their horses and arms were however secured.

The *alcalde* was ordered to provide forage for five hundred horses, and he was compelled to write a letter, dictated by Miller, apprising the governor of Arequipa of the unexpected appearance of the "insurgents." Lieutenant-Colonel Vidal was allowed to profit by the same opportunity to send to his friends for supplies of clothing and money. He confirmed the report made by the *alcalde*. Both believed the patriots were in considerable numbers, for the bugleman was kept on the alert all night sounding in different parts of the valley.

Vidal and Miller lay down together on the floor, and rested their heads on the same pillow (*i. e.* a saddle) till daybreak.

The forage cut in the course of the night was ordered to be conveyed up to the sand-hills, on the Siguas side of the valley, where the *alcalde* was made to believe the patriots were placed in ambuscade.

At ten A. M. Miller retired to Quilca, where he arrived on the 4th.

Carratalà, on the night of the 2d, entered Arequipa, where he halted for an hour only. Upon arriving at Vitor, he was some time before he could be induced to venture into the valley; because, from the confused information acquired from the *alcalde*, he was fearful of falling into an ambuscade.

In the meantime Miller proceeded to Ocoña, where he arrived on the 6th of January. The *balsas* in use on the river Camana, as far up as Majes, and those at Chorungas were destroyed. The bull-hides belonging to the *balsas* of Camana were taken away, after being rendered portable by letting out the wind. By these measures Carratalà was deprived of the means of passing the river. Colonel Flores had agreed with Miller that he would volunteer to Carratalà to make new *balsas*, but promised that he would delay the completion of the operation for two days, which he lengthened out to three, during which time he gave Miller daily advices by means of his major domo, who swam his horse across the river every night. Flores was a sincere patriot; and, like many others on the coast of the Puertos Intermedios, rendered Miller important services, which were frequently attended with considerable risk. But being never encouraged to compromise themselves unnecessarily, they, in most cases, made their peace with the royalists when Miller could no longer afford them protection.

Miller despatched communications from Ocoña over-land to Lima on the 6th, it being easy for a messenger to avoid Ica, the only royalist garrison between Ocoña and the capital.

Miller calculated that the cautious Carratalà could not reach Ocoña in less than four days, on account of the length and difficulties of intervening deserts. He therefore determined upon reconnoitring Carabeli, a town thirty leagues north-east of Ocoña, to ascertain the truth or falsehood of reports that Colonel Manzanedo intended to advance from Parinacochas.

At ten P. M. on the 6th of January, Miller, accompanied by fifteen men, and half a dozen peasants as guides, set out. Major Lyra, left in command at Ocoña, was somewhat prone to believe in alarming reports; and no sooner was he left by himself than he was made uneasy. Miller had not proceeded more than four leagues over a very rugged road, when an express, from Lyra, overtook him, to beg that he would immediately return, as the enemy had crossed the river of Camana, and were fast approaching Ocoña. He disbelieved the information, and would not allow his party to halt, but rode back himself to prevent Lyra retiring to the little port called the Planchada, five leagues north of Ocoña, and where the Protector had been ordered to come to an anchor. When Miller got within a mile of Ocoña he received a second report, stating that the first originated in a false alarm. It seems that a black vagabond, influenced by the hope of some reward, imposed upon Lyra. Miller, having ascertained that all was safe, turned, without entering Ocoña; but, before he resumed his journey, he wrote on a slip of paper that the black, whose bad character was well known, should be summarily examined, and, if found guilty, be immediately shot. The sentence was carried into execution the next morning; an act of severity which gave universal satisfaction to the inhabitants of an extensive district. This wretch had killed a priest, and was said to have committed six other murders. He had escaped twice from *capilla* (the condemned cell). The assassin had secured a frightful impunity by murdering, or threatening to murder, those who had, in the early part of his career, appeared to bear witness to his guilt. To offend him was considered as courting destruction, and nobody of late had been bold enough to give evidence against him. Besides this, so defective and corrupt was the administration of justice under the Spanish rule, that the vilest criminal, *with money*, found few difficulties in evading punishment. One of the guides, at that time with Miller, had concealed himself for several weeks in the valley of Majes, to avoid the poniard of the murderer. His death was, therefore, spoken of as a public benefit, and produced for the patriots many advantages, besides discouraging others from giving false intelligence.

At midnight, on the 7th, Miller entered Carabeli. The Spanish authorities were displaced, and patriot successors named; decrees were published; despatches sent off to Lima, and various arrangements made. About noon of the 8th, Miller, nearly overcome by the fatigues of a long ride, and from continual mental exertion, threw himself on a bench covered with a rug, to snatch a few hours' rest. But before he could close his eyes, which were swollen and inflamed by the effects of a scorching sun, want of sleep, and extreme bodily exhaustion, a third unwelcome express arrived, with information that the royalists were advancing, that Lyra had determined to retire to the Planchada, and that he recommended the colonel to make the best of his way to the same place, by the nearest road, and without re-entering Ocoña. The anxiety which this new alarm created induced Miller to order his escort to proceed direct to the Planchada, and, at the same time, to shape his own course, contrary to Lyra's advice, straight to Ocoña. In his exhausted state, it was not without some difficulty that he again got on horseback. The reflections which obtruded on his mind did not diminish the perplexities of this harassing ride. Besides the common chances of having his retreat cut off, there were other feelings which incited him to press on, in spite of the intimations of wearied nature. He had separated from General Alvarado in an uncordial manner. He had not been allowed to proceed from Arica to Tarapacá, and operate according to his own plans; but was sent where the probabilities of success were but few. He was well aware that slender allowances would be made for the failure of a junior officer, and a reverse, from whatever cause, might seriously affect his reputation. Miller, however, was determined not to shrink from responsibility, but to act with a decision proportioned to the emergency. He felt his spirits rise as his difficulties increased; yet unpleasing apprehensions would now and then intrude. He was afraid that the party left at Ocoña might be attacked by a superior force, and be not only beaten, but annihilated. With a mind thus occupied by restless forebodings, Miller pursued his way across the desert, nearly one hundred miles in breadth, sleep not having visited his weary eyelids since he left Ocoña. He however observed, with much satisfaction, that a storm was breaking upon the lofty summits of the Andes. The lightning played vividly upon their towering pinnacles; he heard the distant thunder rumbling and re-echoing; and though upon the spot he was then standing rain had never fallen, he observed it descending in torrents on the mountain sides. This inspired the hope that the river of Ocoña would become swollen, and impassable to the royalists. For several leagues he kept himself awake by lashing his back with the bridle reins, and by rubbing his eyes with his own saliva; but at length nature gave way to an overpowering drowsiness, which caused him to drop from his saddle on the sand. Twisting the bridle round his arm, he fell into a sleep which kings might envy. At dawn he was roused by his guide, and, resuming his journey, reached the vicinity of Ocoña on the 9th.

He now found two of his men perched upon an eminence, to watch the approach of the expected enemy, and that Major Lyra had retired with the remainder of the detachment to the port. Miller ordered six soldiers and two bugles to return to Ocoña. He laid himself down on a high hill overlooking the valley, to await their arrival; but he could not go to sleep. All danger was over, and the excitement had ceased; but, although his mind was now at ease, his nerves remained in a state of agitation that effectually prevented repose. When the party arrived from the Planchada, Miller descended to the village, and having placed his men on the right bank of the river, he returned to Ocoña. The inhabitants had been kindly treated by the soldiery, and were stanch supporters. The ferrymen had been punctually paid for previous services, and were particularly enthusiastic: they even applied for arms, and implored the patriot commander not to abandon them to their vindictive and implacable oppressors; but the royalists were coming on, greatly superior in numbers, with artillery as well as cavalry, and it would have been sacrificing his men uselessly to have made a stand. In refusing their request, the inhabitants were counselled to bend like the reed to the storm. Having made every arrangement, Miller took up his quarters in the house of the family of the Salazars, who, although attached to the royalist cause, were personally his firm friends. They had no spare bed, but they spread a rug on a long table, upon which Miller lay down. The interesting daughters brought him pillows, handed him *mate* and other refreshments, till at length he sunk into a profound sleep, from which he did not awake until the following morning, when he was aroused by intelligence that the royalists had appeared. The patriot videttes, placed at distances behind mounds of earth covered with brushwood, kept up a brisk fire whenever the enemy approached the river to discover a ford. The patriot bugles were not idle, and Carratalà supposing his opponents to be in force, did not effect his passage until the following morning, by which time the independents were all safe on board ship. In the evening of the 11th, a detachment commanded by the royalist Colonel San Juangeno appeared at the Planchada. The Protector transport made sail for the *caleta* of Atico, twenty-five leagues to the north. Miller landed there on the 12th of January. On the 13th he ascertained that Carratalà had received orders to countermarch with all possible speed, to re-incorporate his division with Canterac's army, then advancing from Puno against Alvarado. A few men were immediately sent over-land from Atico to retake possession of Ocoña, and to act in concert with the patriotic inhabitants of that valley.

Carratalà, who had marched from Puno with upwards of 1000 men, entered Ocoña with only 600. Many of his men had died, and many more, being incapacitated by sickness from continuing their most harassing march, were left at Camana, Siguas, &c. The grapes and other fruits being ripe, were greedily devoured by the mountaineers, and produced very fatal effects.

On the 16th January a small detachment was sent to Carabeli from Atico, and on the 18th Miller sailed in the brig for the port of Chala, in consequence of communications received from Don Mariano Bejerrano, the curate of that place, informing him of the movements of Colonel Manzanedo, whom, from his apparent timidity, it was supposed an easy matter to frighten into the interior, or, at all events, to prevent his undertaking offensive operations until Miller should receive reinforcements.

The schooner *Olmedo*, which had joined Miller with spare arms, remained at Atico in attendance upon the parties sent to Carabeli and Ocoña. It was not judged prudent to distribute the arms to the inhabitants, as the royalists were so near at hand, and in such superior force.

At midnight on the 19th, the brig Protector entered Chala. She was the first vessel ever known to have anchored there. This small port is thirty leagues north of Atico. The curate, in the description he had given of it, had forgotten to point out some dangerous sunken rocks. The night being very dark, the brig anchored so near to them that it was in great danger, until, daylight appearing, the transport was warped to a safer berth. Miller, with an officer and two or three men, then landed. They were met on the beach by the patriotic and worthy curate. Two soldiers, and half a dozen villagers well mounted, were immediately sent in pursuit of a well known royalist, living at Yauca, nine leagues north of the port. They succeeded in getting hold of him, and brought him back to Chala.

Manzanedo was in the vicinity of Chumpi, two days' march from Chala, with his battalion. The *subdelegate* of San Juan de Lucanas, with a detachment of sixty men, was advancing upon Acari. Both had orders to drive the troublesome insurgents into the sea. Miller's object was to retain possession of as much of the coast as he could, until he should learn the result of the battle which had become inevitable between Canterac and Alvarado. To effect this, many stratagems were employed. The royalist brought from Yauca was made to write a letter to Manzanedo, reporting that the black battalion of Chile, No. 4, had landed on the coast, and giving the communication an air of genuineness by speaking of "*el Ingles Miller*" in about the same manner as the royalists were accustomed to do. This was sent in a manner so as not to leave the least doubt in Manzanedo's mind as to the accuracy of the information.

Reports were constantly circulated of reinforcements having landed on some part or another of the coast. Every vessel that appeared in sight, or was pretended to have been seen, at the setting of the sun, produced an ostentatious order to light fires on the hills; to place peasantry on the shore; and to take other bustling measures, until not the shadow of a doubt remained on the public mind that the patriot detachment was perfectly at ease, and upon the point of making a serious attack. The patriot soldiers themselves were almost equally deceived, and spoke with the utmost sincerity of expected succours, which existed only in the imagination of their commander. Communications from Canterac to Manzanedo had been intercepted by the party at Ocoña. The originals were kept, and others counterfeited, and sent in their stead. Other letters were written in cipher, or in a mysterious style, for the express purpose of being intercepted, and which made Manzanedo doubt the fidelity of his own officers. Cordova and Rodriguez, two distinguished and influential priests, were particularly useful in the execution of these stratagems. Cordova willingly acted as secretary. He accompanied Miller in his excursions, and from his acquaintance with all parties, and the high estimation in which he was held, was enabled to render essential services. He was of a jovial turn; and often, when half the night had been consumed in despatching letters in various directions, he and Miller would pass the remainder in hearty laughs at the strangeness of their productions, and in speculating with great glee upon the probable results. Daylight sometimes warned them to throw aside the cigar, and to seek their hammocks for a few hours' repose. A flag of truce was, on some frivolous pretence, sent to Manzanedo. An officer and three negro soldiers upon this occasion wore the cockade of Chile. Miller availed himself of the opportunity to send an open letter to his friend Loriga. He wrote a great deal of nonsense, and told the royalist general that he knew the road to Cuzco, and hoped shortly to meet him there. The compliments of Colonel Sanchez were added in a postscript, whom Loriga knew no more of than that he commanded the battalion, No. 4, of Chile. When Manzanedo's answer arrived, it was managed that the bearer should be received where the little band of patriots appeared to be an advanced guard. Fires were kindled at night; and, by the bustle, it might easily be imagined that the troops were numerous. Amongst other tricks, a soldier was sent in great haste to the house where the royalist officer was quartered, to borrow a *xeringa* for Colonel Sanchez, who it was pretended had been taken with a surfeit, but who in reality was with Alvarado, seventy leagues off. A great bustle was made in rousing the hostess. Miller entered the house soon afterwards, and expressed, in a conversational tone, his fears that the remedy would not be administered in time to preserve the life of poor Sanchez.

The royalist officer was civilly dismissed on the next morning, when it was contrived that the blacks who had accompanied the flag of truce should be placed in his way. Some other negroes in the fatigue dress of the legion were dispersed about in a manner to make him believe they belonged to another regiment. The royalist officer said, upon going away, to his hostess, "It is all very well for Miller to have a couple of battalions; but we have a couple, as well as he." Half a mile on his road, he saw officers galloping about, and bawling after men purposely scattered about, ordering them to their encampment in the rear. Manzanedo retreated from Chumpi to Pausa, a distance of fourteen leagues: he afterwards advanced three times upon the patriots, but as often retreated. Half a dozen veterans, and a montonero party, several of which had been lately organized, were quite sufficient to make him retrograde, because he thought them the advance of a larger force.

In these operations he lost so many men, by desertion and sickness, that his battalion was soon reduced from six hundred to three hundred and fifty men.

The inhabitants became, like those more to the south, stanch partisans of Miller. By their fidelity he was enabled to conceal the smallness of his force, and it appears that the enemy seldom calculated it below two thousand. By the cheerful assistance of the natives in furnishing means to mount his party, he was enabled to move with such rapidity, that when the royalists heard of him, it was often by some sudden attack in a quarter wholly unforeseen or unexpected.

Miller had never occasion to adopt measures of severity; yet, in an extensive population, there would necessarily be a few with a bias towards the old régime. The curate of Carabeli and another active partisan of the royalists were sent on board the Protector, with orders to the master, Captain Nesen, to set them on shore again the moment they began to recover from sea-sickness. The constant swell on that coast rendered the brig a perfect purgatory to these timid landsmen, who ever after spoke of the punishment as worse than a thousand deaths. The mere threat of sending any body afloat was enough to make a whole village tremble.

The brave and persevering montonero chiefs, Castañeda and Abarca, with their followers, were very useful to Miller, under whose orders they placed themselves. Both were afterwards killed fighting against the oppressors of their country.

At length positive information reached Miller of the defeat of General Alvarado at Torata and Moquegua; upon which he determined to collect several hundred head of oxen, horses, and mules, from the many thousands which were grazing upon the *Lomas* of Atiquipa, and to make good his retreat to Lima. He therefore sent a messenger to Colonel Brandsen, then at Cañete with eight hundred cavalry, to request him to advance against the royalist Colonel Barrandalla, who with about four hundred men occupied Ica, the only intervening royalist station between them.

In order to co-operate with Brandsen, Miller detached a small party under Captain Valdivia to Palpa, where the royalist Colonel Olachea, with a few regulars and fifty militia, were put to flight, with some loss in prisoners, who were sent to Acari. Ensign Quiroga, a lad of fourteen, was remarkable for his steady and soldier-like conduct.

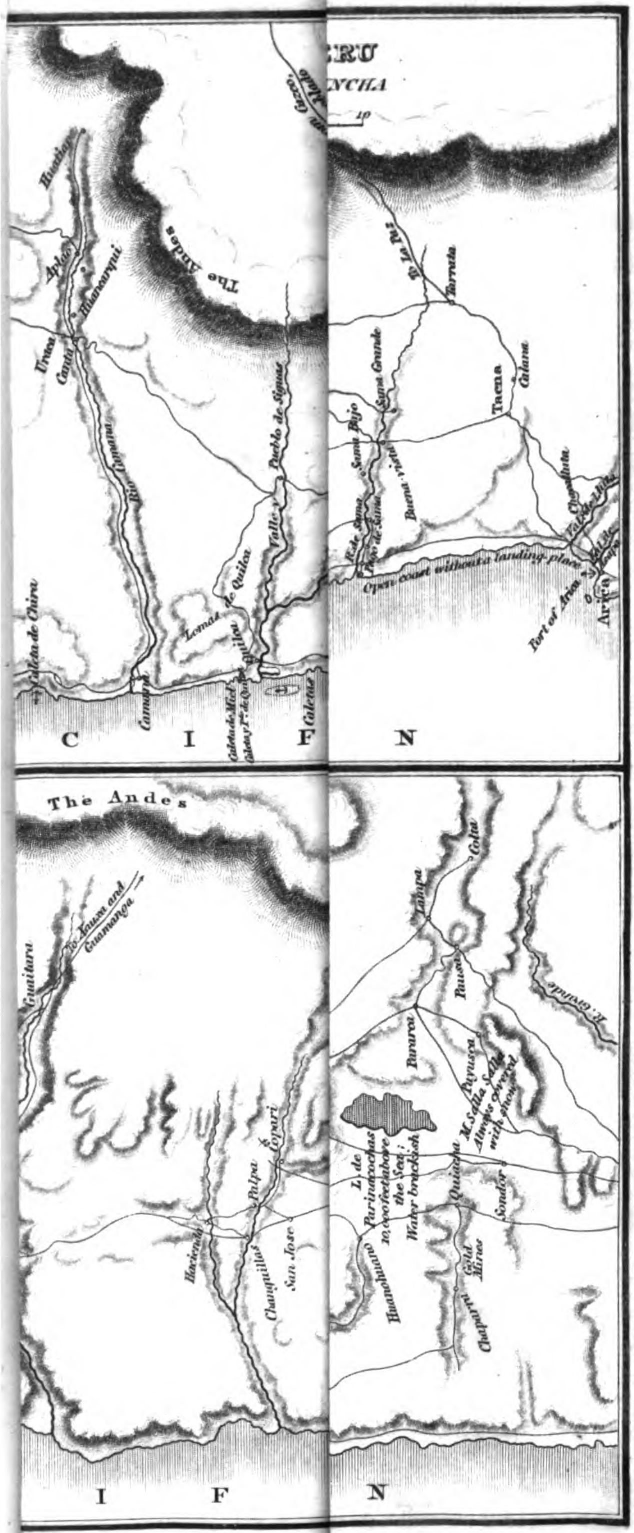
Valdivia's advance caused Barrandalla to march with his division to Palpa: but the patriots having retired to Acari, he returned to his former cantonments, being also apprehensive of an attack from Colonel Brandsen. Miller remained at Acari for some time, in the expectation that Brandsen would effect the desired movement. The latter, however, did not advance beyond Pisco, although the minister of war had assured Miller that Brandsen should be positively ordered to occupy Ica. The reverses of Alvarado seemed to have paralyzed the *junta gubernativa* in Lima. The army under Arenales had not moved twenty leagues from the capital, and was diminishing daily, in consequence of having been so long kept inactive.

At this juncture Miller was disabled by an attack of *mal de ansias*, a species of cholera morbus. He was carried, in a litter, across the desert seven leagues, to the port of Lomas, where the zealous Captain Nesen was waiting with the Protector. He was hoisted on board more dead than alive. The dreadful disorder came on every other day, and continued in paroxysms of fourteen or fifteen hours, for the space of ten days. Cold water was the only remedy administered. The complaint is common on that part of the coast; but, although excruciatingly violent, not more than one out of three or four fall victims to it. The invalid was soon so much reduced that he spoke with difficulty. His friend Dr. Cordova (now dean of Arequipa) lay ill of the ague. Both were cooped up in the state cabin (if so it might be called) of the brig, and neither could move from his berth.

After having been on board a week, and there being no longer any hope of receiving reinforcements, or of the few Spaniards at Ica being driven to the interior, Miller gave an order for his company to embark. In the execution of this a difficulty occurred, which it may be worth while to describe, as it will illustrate the character of his soldiers. The captain, an intelligent officer, was unpopular from peevishness of manners, and the order, conveyed through him, was disbelieved. There had been so much of adventure in this little service, that a spirit of enterprise animated every man; and their excellent behaviour had secured such kind treatment from the inhabitants, that the men were unwilling to quit a place where they had enjoyed so much comfort. Seven stole away to Nasca, to levy contributions upon the wealthy royalist inhabitants. Captain Valdivia, a brave officer, and much beloved, was sent to bring them back. A ride of fourteen hours brought him to Nasca, shortly after the arrival of the runaways, who had already begun to collect contributions.

When Valdivia approached, one of them levelled his musket at him. Valdivia coolly said, "Fire away; but it is of no use: you are all my prisoners, and must go with me, by order of the colonel." He had the address to gain over five, and to handcuff the ringleader and another. In the meanwhile, Captain Allende with some difficulty persuaded the rest of the company to follow him from Acari to the place of embarkation; but they, still disbelieving that the order had emanated from the colonel, displayed a mutinous spirit, grounded their arms, and refused to step into the boats, until they saw their colonel, who caused himself to be put on shore. Upon landing, he ordered Allende to point out the most refractory. Two were named, and they were instantly ordered into the boat, with an admonition to prepare for death. The rest of the company was then formed in a circle, and the colonel reprimanded them until he sunk to the ground from exhaustion. The misguided men were all much affected; many of them shed tears. The ringleader brought back by Valdivia from Nasca was the only man executed.

The whole of the men now being safe on board, Millar ordered the master of the Protector to weigh, and steer for Iquique, intending to operate upon Tarapacá, and to endeavour to form guerrilla parties to annoy the royalists in the south, trusting to obtain in the meanwhile reinforcements either from Lima or Chile. But in getting under weigh the fluke of the only remaining anchor broke, and no alternative was then left but to run before the wind for Callao. The schooner had been previously sent from Chala


ERU
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To La Paz
Tarrata
Sama Grande
Sama Bajo
Buena vista
Rde Sama
Pozo de Sama
Tacna
Calana
Chacalluta
Val de Lluta
Val de Azapa
Open coast without a landing-place
Port of Arica
Arica
The Andes
To Nasca and Guamanga
Guaitara
Lampa
Colta
Pausa
R. Grande
Pararca
Payusca
M. Sarasara
Always covered with snow
L. de Parinacochas 10,000 feet above the Sea: Water brackish
Huancahuana
Coparí
Palpa
Hacienda
Changuillas
San Jose
Quiacha
Sondor
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to Lima with despatches, and the prisoners Lieutenant-Colonel Vidal and Captain Urdiminea, who both refused to accept unconditional liberty, assigning as a reason, that they dared not show their faces after having been taken under such singular circumstances. They even entertained apprehensions that the victors of Torata and Moquegua might suspect they had been bribed. The Protector arrived at Callao on the 12th of March, 1823.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Miller.—" After wandering for ten weeks on the coast between Quilca and Palpa, I arrived in perfect safety at Callao on the 12th. I have recovered from the effects of cholera morbus; but being too weak to proceed to Lima, I gladly accepted the invitation of Captain Prescott to remain with him until I recovered strength. From this highly-gifted and kind commander down to the junior officer on board, I have been the object of that gratifying reception which makes me look upon the Aurora as my home afloat. The sight of her pendant gladdens my eyesight almost as much as would the vane upon Wingham church steeple. Even the ship's company welcomed me with looks that seemed to claim me as an old acquaintance. The fact is, there was enough of harlequinade, in my late scamperings, to tickle the fancies of all; and I believe I was considered less as a visiter than as one who, somehow or other, belonged to the frigate."

" The attentions from my countrymen are excessive. I have again taken up my quarters at the hospitable mansion of my excellent friend Mr. Begg. The conduct of the foreign merchants resident in

Lima is more than friendly. I can never forget the numberless personal kind offices I receive from the commanders and officers of the French and North American ships of war. But the warm welcome of the military and of the inhabitants of the capital crowns all. One would think that I had returned victorious, instead of having been obliged to *cut and run.*"

Extract from the Lima Gazette, dated 15th March, 1823.—" On the 12th instant arrived in the port of Callao the colonel of the Peruvian Legion, Don Guillermo Miller, after having filled the enemy with terror on every occasion on which he had the good fortune to meet with him. This praiseworthy chief, who separated from the head-quarters with only a company of *cazadores*, has performed prodigies of valour and military skill. He advanced with only three soldiers and three peasants to the valley of Vitor, twelve leagues from Arequipa, where, after a most painful journey through high and broken ground, he completely overcame a party of the enemy, taking the Lieutenant-Colonel Vidal, who commanded it, and ten dragoons, prisoners. With his small force he passed through numerous places, without the hostile division, consisting of more than one thousand men, which was always in front of him, daring to attack him; on the contrary, it repeatedly retreated, dreading to be destroyed by our valiant troops. In the vicinity of Nasca, he pursued a party of fifty-six men, commanded by Colonel Olachea: with a very small number of soldiers he overtook him, and captured eighteen prisoners and a considerable quantity of arms of every kind. The coward Olacheà succeeded in escaping in company with the sub-delegate, Rivero, by means of their good horses, but all their baggage remained in our hands*. At last, being obliged to embark by a serious illness that attacked him, and the brig which attended his movements having lost her last anchor in the port of Acari, and the vessel as well as the boats being in very bad condition, he proceeded towards the port of Callao.

"In this campaign he has not only manifested singular courage, but he has also given proofs of uncommon skill. He traversed the country in the midst of a numerous enemy, astonishing them by the celerity of his well-concerted movements. But the most admirable part of all this is, that during the whole time he was near them, he succeeded in concealing the number of his forces in such a manner that it was thought they amounted to two battalions. Without considering the actions which he bravely maintained, his march alone has been of great importance. An opportune movement is sometimes worth more than great triumphs. The glory which the retreat from Asia gave to Xenophon was as great as that which Themistocles acquired by the victory of Salamis.

"Not less worthy of eulogium is the conduct of this honourable and valorous chieftain towards the inhabitants of the places occupied by his troops. Not the least extortion was practised on them; and he succeeded in securing the love of all, by the rigorous discipline he maintained: thus consolidating more and more the opinion in favour of independence, he has practically shown the difference between mercenary troops and free men. The first, having no other motive than lucre, apply themselves solely to desolation and pillage. The second, who combat only for liberty, employ all their force and victories in favour of the people. The former conquer to destroy and oppress humanity; the latter to dispense their favours wherever they direct their steps."

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* In the Gaceta de Lima, dated 18th March, Colonel Miller gives the merit of the affair with Olachea to Captain Valdivia exclusively.

CHAPTER XIX.

Description of the desert coast of Peru.—Shipwreck and sufferings of the Granaderos à Caballo.—Local traditions.—The Junta Gubernativa deposed.—Riva-Aguero named president of the republic.—Position of the royalists.—Another expedition sails to the Puertos Intermedios.—Royalists advance upon Lima.—Patriots retire to Callao.—Canterac enters Lima.—General Sucre invested with supreme command.—Riva-Aguero displaced.

As the operations which have been so minutely described were performed in a country little known, and very different from any part of Europe, it may not be out of place to give a sketch of its features, and of some of its peculiarities.

The coast of Peru consists of a line of sandy desert, five hundred leagues in length, the breadth varying from seven to above fifty miles, as the several branches of the Andes approach to, or recede from, the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Nothing can exceed its dreary, arid aspect, or equal the comfortless effect produced on the mind of the mariner when he first catches sight of this apparently dismal country. The desert's breadth presents great inequalities of surface, and has the appearance of having once formed a part of the bed of the adjoining ocean. Were it not for the stupendous back ground, which gives to every other object a comparatively diminutive outline, the sand hills might sometimes be called mountains. The long line of desert is intersected by rivers and streams, which are seldom less than twenty, or more than eighty or ninety miles apart. The narrow strips on each bank of every stream are peopled in proportion to the supply of water. During the rainy season in the interior, or from the melting of the snows upon the Andes, the great rivers upon the coast swell prodigiously, and can be crossed only by means of a *balsa*, which is a raft or frame-work, fastened upon four bull-hides sewed up, made air-tight, and filled with wind. A few of the large rivers reach the sea, but most of those of the second order are consumed in irrigating the cultivated patches, or are absorbed by the encompassing desert, where it never rains; where neither birds, beasts, nor reptiles, are ever seen, and where a blade of vegetation never grew. Sometimes a rill of water bubbles up, and is lost within the space of a hundred yards. Very often the banks of rivers are too steep and rugged to admit of the water being applied to the purposes of irrigation; consequently the surrounding country cannot be cultivated. No stranger can travel from valley to valley, as the inhabited strips are inappropriately called, without a guide; for the only indication that the desert has been trodden before is an occasional cluster of bones, the remains of beasts of burden that have perished. The sand is frequently raised into immense clouds by the wind, to the great annoyance of the traveller, who generally rides with his face muffled up. When he becomes fatigued, or his animal jaded, he dismounts, and, if the sun shines, he spreads his poncho between the fore and hind legs of his horse or mule, and lies down under the only shade to be obtained in the shrubless waste. It is a very curious sight to behold a regiment of cavalry reposing in this manner. On approaching Arequipa from the coast, the desert is thickly sprinkled with *médanos*, which are mounds of sand raised by eddying winds, that extend their influence several leagues from the mountain ridges. The *médanos* are in the shape of a crescent, the interior face of which is six or eight feet high, and nearly perpendicular, the outer front sloping like a glacis, and the horns diminishing to a very fine point. Whatever may be the dimensions of a *médano*, it always assumes this form, until, upon approaching nearer to the line of mountains, it gradually loses its symmetry. In the immediate vicinity of the Cordillera these formations cease. The *médanos* create an extremely irksome labyrinth to the *vaquianos*, who, from their repeated shiftings, have no species of clue by which to direct their course. Between Payta and Piura, about a league or two from the latter place, there is also an extent of desert covered with *médanos*, which are situated at the same distance from the range of the Cordillera as those near Arequipa. On the road from Arequipa to Yarabamba columns of dust, from fifty to two hundred feet in height, are raised by whirlwinds. Let the traveller turn which way he will, some of these columns are constantly before him. He is sometimes caught in one; but as they last only a minute or two, and as it is an easy matter to gallop out of them, no inconvenience arises.

The obstacles to moving a body of troops from one point to another in this country can only be appreciated by military men who have had to contend against them. But description, unaccompanied by a statement of facts, will fall short of conveying even a faint idea of the horrors of the desert, where a puff of wind obliterates, in a moment, the footmarks of a column of soldiers.

It is not a rare circumstance for the most experienced *vaquianos*, or guides, to lose themselves. In that case, terror instantly reduces them to a state of positive insanity, and unless they recover the path by chance, or are fortunate enough to see other travellers loom above the horizon, they inevitably perish, and their fate is no more known than that of a ship which founders unseen in the distant ocean. They are nevertheless very expert, and regulate their course by circumstances unobservable to the casual traveller. When Miller galloped across the desert of Siguas, ten leagues in breadth, he expressed some doubts to the guides, as to whether they were in the proper direction. They told him that, so long as a bright star which they pointed out was in sight, there was no danger of their losing themselves, and remarked that, as the wind always blew from the same quarter, they had only to keep the breeze in their left eye, to make the valley of Vitor. However, detachments, and even entire corps of the army, have often been known to lose themselves for a considerable time.

When the remains of Alvarado's army were on the passage from the Puertos Intermedios to Lima, in 1823, a transport conveying above three hundred cavalry grounded, and went to pieces twelve leagues south of Pisco, and fourteen leagues west of Ica. All hands escaped on shore; but, in attempting to find their way to Pisco, they lost themselves for thirty-six hours, and became bewildered by despair. On the wreck being known at Pisco, a regiment of cavalry was ordered out with a supply of water, to pick up the wanderers. The commanding officer of the wrecked soldiers, Colonel Lavalle, was one of the survivors, and has recounted the sufferings of the party in that dreadful calamity. He had with him an orderly who had fought by his side at Chacabuco, Maypo, Nasca, Rio-Bamba, Pasco, and Pinchincha, and who had on one occasion saved the colonel's life at the risk of his own, but who was now as insensible to the distresses of his master as to those of his comrades. Overcome by fatigue, the unfortunate men would sometimes drop upon the burning surface, and tear up the sand in search of water with agonizing fury. After proceeding some leagues, a few date-trees were discovered at a distance, near the roots of which water is always to be found. A feeble cry of joy issued from the parched tongues of the foremost. It was not given to encourage those in the rear, but was an involuntary expression of internal feelings, animated by a glimpse of the palms towering in the distance. All in sight immediately quickened their pace, but numbers fell lifeless before they could reach the much-desired place. Those who had strength enough left to arrive there began to excavate, and found water, which however was scarce and muddy. The rush of the almost breathless throng rendered it at first impossible for any to satisfy the cravings of their thirst. Beyond the friendly palms none had the courage to advance, but dropped or spread themselves around in fixed and mute despair, no one thinking more of his fellow-sufferers than if he alone lay panting in the desert. Even those thoughts of home, of family, and of friends, which are the last to quit their hold upon the memory at the hour of death in a foreign land; even those tender recollections appeared to have vanished from every mind. At length the hussars sent from Pisco appeared in sight. Indescribable emotions of joy were felt, rather than expressed; for all had by this time become nearly speechless. Their first joyful emotions were chilled by unutterable anxieties, lest their hoped-for deliverers should not shape their course towards the date-trees, and all were too weak for even one to stand up and make a signal. They could turn their glazed eyes upon the horsemen, and form a silent hope, but that was all, for not a word was spoken. They were, however, at last delivered from a state of frightful suspense by the arrival of the hussars, who poured water down the burning throats of the men as they lay extended on the ground, unable to stir, or to ask for the delicious draught, or to give thanks for it, excepting by an expression of delight which faintly beamed on their features. Many drew their last breath before relief could be administered, and nearly one hundred unburied corpses, which strewed the dreary waste, will, for ages, mark the calamitous route.

It is not an unusual circumstance for soldiers to drop down dead, or to see the blood gush out from their ears and nostrils as they march, sometimes, ankle deep in sand. On one occasion, six hundred men marched from Arica to the valley of Lluta, only four leagues distant: six men died on the way, and forty more would have perished, had they not been immediately relieved by copious bleeding.

Perhaps nothing will more clearly convey an idea of the distance between one habitable spot and another, or the stupendous inequalities of the intervening ground, than quotations from local traditions, which state that between Atico and Chaparra there is a valley inhabited, as is supposed, by descendants of the ancient Peruvians, and which was unexpectedly fallen in with by one Navarro, of Chaparra, who, having lost his way, came upon it in the night. He saw lights, and heard voices, but was afraid to descend into the valley. He reported the circumstance when he arrived home, and several parties afterwards set out upon a journey of discovery, but without success. This was related by Don Juan de Neira y Caravajal, living at Chaparra in 1822, who remembered Navarro, and had often heard him mention the circumstance.

It is also asserted, that there is another unknown valley between Chorunga and Majes, which, like the first mentioned, was once seen by chance, and which has also baffled every attempt to discover it a second time with sufficient force to ensure egress; it being supposed that any person entering singly would be immediately slain, or detained for life.

These accounts are not generally believed by those dwelling in the neighbourhood, and best qualified to form a correct opinion; but the bare admission, by people accustomed to explore the most uninviting regions in search of mines, of the possibility of the existence of such valleys, may give some notion of this extraordinary country, where the works of nature are upon a scale equally grand, terrific, and sublime.

Reverting to the narrative, it is now necessary to state the occurrences which had taken place at Lima and its vicinity. It has already been mentioned, that the plan of the campaign of 1822 was, for the army under Arenales to threaten the royalists in the valley of Xauxa, and thereby prevent any reinforcements being sent from thence to the south, to the support of Valdez; or if succours *were* sent, then Arenales was to push forward, and act boldly on the offensive. He, however, did not advance beyond a few leagues from Lima, notwithstanding he was well aware that Canterac had withdrawn great part of his forces from Huancáyo, for the express purpose of forming a junction with Valdez, leaving General Loriga with less than three thousand royalists in the valley of Xauxa.

The inactivity of the army of observation, for so that under Arenales was called, produced the effect of exciting clamorous discontent against the governing junta. Arenales alleged that he could obtain neither shoes nor great coats, which he deemed indispensable to cross the Andes. The extreme apathy and indecision of the junta, and the pernicious consequences of their lukewarm measures, some became evident, and wrought the downfall of the triumvirate soon after the reverses of Alvarado were known at Lima.

On the 26th of February, 1823, the chiefs and officers of the army of observation, headed by General Santa Cruz, second in command, set forth, in an animated and forcible remonstrance to congress, the cause to which they attributed the reverses of the state, and significantly recommended the legislative body to nominate Colonel Don José de la Riva-Aguero to be president of the republic. Congress demurred. On the following day the army was formed at Balconcillo, outside the walls of Lima, from whence Santa Cruz sent a second recommendation, to proclaim his friend, Riva-Aguero, without further procrastination: a request so forcibly backed was immediately complied with. The second battalion of the Legion did not form with the rest of the army. The manly, judicious, and proper conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Videla was not approved of; and when the desired change had been effected, he was removed from the command of his battalion, which fell into disfavour for the very reason which ought to have raised it in esteem.

Arenales having suddenly withdrawn and sailed for Chile, Santa Cruz assumed the chief command of the Peruvian army. Colonel Gamarra was appointed chief of the staff, and Colonel Don Ramon Herrera was named minister of war by Riva-Aguero. It is remarkable that these four persons, occupying the highest offices in the state, should have held commissions from the king of Spain for some time after San Martin had made good his footing in Peru, and at a period eleven years subsequent to the commencement of the revolution; thus verifying the parable, that those who come at the eleventh hour receive as much as those who "have borne the burden and heat of the day."

These changes, however, produced general satisfaction. Riva-Aguero displayed great activity. Santa Cruz succeeded in bringing the army to a high state of efficiency, both in numbers and discipline. For the first time, the Peruvian soldiers were commanded by a Peruvian, and this produced a feeling of nationality highly favourable to their cause. Santa Cruz is a native of Guarina (near La Paz), and son of the *Cacica* Caluamani, a noble Indian lady.

The Buenos Ayrean general, Don Enrique Martinez, who joined in the intrigue to remove the *junta gubernativa*, paid the penalty of his officiousness. He had been influenced by the hope of still holding the office of commander-in-chief, but he now saw his authority limited to the control of the few Buenos Ayreans who had escaped with him from Ilo, although he still retained the pompous title of general-in-chief of the united army.

On the 8th of April, 1823, Santa Cruz was promoted to the rank of general of division, and Colonels Gamarra, Pinto, Miller, and Herrera, to that of generals of brigade. Miller retained, at his own request, the command of the Legion; the men who returned with him to Lima being incorporated in the second battalion, which now mustered nearly eight hundred strong.

After the expulsion of the patriots from the Puertos Intermedios, the royalists concentrated about nine thousand effective men in the valley of Xauxa, under Canterac; fifteen hundred were left in the department of Arequipa; about the same number were in garrison at Puno, La Paz, &c. The division of Olañeta, from two to three thousand strong, was in

Upper Peru. Cuzco continued to be the seat of the vice-regal government, whence the royalist army received recruits and resources in abundance.

The gloom which had darkened the prospects of the patriots, by the defeats of Torata and Moquegua; --by the unsettled state of Chile;—by the anarchy which prevailed in the provinces of Rio de la Plata; —by the differences between Peru and Colombia, originating in the annexation of Guayaquil to the latter state; and by the party spirit which existed in congress; all encouraged Canterac to move upon the capital.

The president Riva-Aguero demanded the opinion in writing of the general officers as to the military operations it was expedient to adopt, and convened a council of war. It was decided that Santa Cruz, who had now five thousand regulars of Peru, should embark and make another effort in the Puertos Intermedios. The occasion appeared favourable, because the royalists, disbelieving the possibility of the patriots making any other attempt in that quarter, had directed all their views towards Lima, by the capture of which Canterac expected to strike a decisive blow. In the mean time about three thousand Colombian troops arrived at Lima from Guayaquil.

The exertions of Riva-Aguero were indefatigable. He obtained the valuable assistance of the most powerful and influential foreign merchants, and of those of the country. Measures were taken to render the ill-fated loan, which had been partly raised in London, available; contracts were entered into; the fitting out of transports for the intended expedition went on night and day; and General Bolivar was invited to Peru, where General Sucre had already arrived as a diplomatic agent from the government of Colombia.

Santa Cruz having, by extraordinary exertions and activity, completed his preparations for the projected expedition, the troops destined for that service embarked at Callao, and sailed between the 14th and 25th of May. This liberating army of the south consisted of

1st battalion of the Legion,	Lieutenant-Colonel Cerdeña.
Battalion of Cazadores,	Lieutenant-Colonel Alegre *.
No. 1,	Colonel Elespuru.
2,	Lieutenant-Colonel Garçon.
4,	Colonel Pardo Zela.
6,	Col. the Marquess of San Miguel.
Regiment of Hussars of the Legion,	Colonel Brandsen.
Two squadrons of Lanzeros,	Colonel Placencía.

Eight field-pieces, Lieutenant-Colonel Morla.

Amounting in all to rather more than five thousand Peruvians. The convoy, after an unusually short passage, rendezvoused off Iquique on the 15th of June, 1823.

Although it had been currently rumoured, for some time, that the royalists assembled in the valley of Xauxa were positively to march upon Lima, and although these reports were confirmed by information which the government received through trustworthy

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* Killed (1827) at his native place, Maldonado, a part of the Banda Oriental, in an affair with the Brazilians.

agents, yet it could scarcely be believed that Canterac would commit the error of descending to the capital whilst the important provinces of the south, left almost unprotected, were threatened by the expedition under Santa Cruz. But the truth is, Canterac, still conceiving it impossible for the patriots to have embarked more than a few hundred recruits at Callao, and that merely to divert his attention from Lima, determined not to deviate from his plan of marching upon that capital, many residents of which, attached to the Spanish cause, had involuntarily contributed to deceive him by false accounts. Indeed so well and expeditiously had the embarkation of the troops under Santa Cruz been conducted, that few Limeños knew what corps, or how many men, had proceeded to the south. Canterac broke up from his cantonments on the 2d of June, and traversed the Andes.

Notwithstanding this movement had been foreseen, yet upon its being carried into execution, the greatest consternation and alarm prevailed at Lima. The government and members of congress who had protested that they would defend the city, or be buried in its ruins, now only thought how to escape the impending danger.

A council of war, composed of general officers, at which Riva-Aguero presided, was held at the palace. Sucre, the Colombian envoy, was elected commander-in-chief of the forces, and it was determined that, on account of disparity of numbers, Lima should be abandoned. Miller was sent with a squadron of cavalry and some montoneros to reconnoitre the royalists. He returned on the third day.

On the 18th of June, Canterac entered Lima with nine battalions, nine squadrons, and fourteen pieces of artillery; in all nine thousand men, well equipped, well disciplined, and extremely fine troops.

Sucre retired under the protection of the guns of Callao. His force consisted of about three thousand Colombians, one thousand Buenos Ayreans (the remnant of the army of the Andes), and one thousand militia of Peru. Colonel Lavalle, with the regiment of *Granaderos à Caballo*, was ordered to Chancay. He was accompanied by many emigrants and some guerrilla parties.

Riva-Aguero retired with the congress to Callao, now closely invested, and where the deputies continued their sittings, in a small church. After much boisterous discussion, Sucre was named supreme military chief, with powers little short of a dictatorship, a step imperiously demanded by the critical situation of the patriots.

On the 20th of June, Canterac made a reconnoissance of the fortress, forming the whole of his troops in line within range of the castles. Whilst the light troops on both sides were briskly skirmishing, Miller, who was reconnoitring, was called to by a Spanish officer, Colonel Ameller, whom he had often seen at the outposts of the royalist army: after passing the usual salutations, he said, "Your friend Loriga is close at hand:" he called to him, and Loriga immediately galloped down. The two friends, who had both become generals since their last meeting, held a conversation for a quarter of an hour, in advance of the respective outposts, which continued their fire, as did the artillerymen in the castles, without molesting them. Loriga, on taking leave, laughingly inquired after *his friend* Sanchez of No. 4 of Chile.

Two companies of the battalion Voltigeros displayed great valour and discipline during the skirmishing. They were opposed in extended files and within pistol-shot to two battalions of royalists. A little before sunset, Canterac retired to his former position at Mirones, half way between Callao and Lima.

It often occurred that members of the same family fought on different sides, and they frequently saluted or upbraided each other during a temporary cessation of firing. On the present occasion, Captain Negreiros, of the independent service, approached the royalist line, and placing himself behind a mud wall, called out to the Spaniards, "Where is old Negreiros, one of your rascally lieutenant-colonels? Tell him that his son Manuel is here, and that if I lay hold of him, I shall be happy to hang him up to the first tree, as a worthless Saracen." A volley from a Spanish piquet was the reply, and Negreiros, being rather nearer to them than he expected, crawled away. The father had before saluted the son in a similar manner, for they never came within hail without exchanging torrents of abuse. The father afterwards became prisoner of war, and was treated by the son with the greatest kindness. Indeed, notwithstanding his hatred of the royalists, he always devoted a part of his pay to the maintenance of his mother and sister, who were zealous adherents to the king.

Callao was crowded with emigrant merchants and families, and, notwithstanding the enemy's being so near, the time was spent very gaily. The amiable and accomplished lady of Commodore Stewart, of the United States ship Franklin, gave pleasant evening parties on board ship.

On the 22d of June, congress divested Riva-Aguero of his authority, and decreed that a passport should be furnished to enable him to retire from the territory of the republic. He was permitted, however, by Sucre, to go to Truxillo, whither the members of congress were ordered to repair. Sucre was therefore left in undisturbed command.

This officer, who has since performed so conspicuous a part in the termination of the war of independence, was born in 1793, at Cumaná in Venezuela. His stature is rather below the middle size. His countenance, though not handsome, is vivacious, and his manners are refined and pleasing. He was educated at Caracas, and entered the army in 1811, and served with credit under the orders of the celebrated Miranda. He afterwards became favourably known for activity, intelligence, and valour, under the brave Piar. From 1814 to 1817 Sucre served in the staff of the Colombian army, and displayed the zeal and talent which characterize him. Sucre was afterwards appointed to the command of a division sent to assist the province of Guayaquil. He met with a severe check at Huachi, but succeeded in obtaining an armistice, which was in effect a victory. It enabled the Peruvian division, under Santa Cruz, to form a junction, and, both united, achieved the decisive victory of Pinchincha.

CHAPTER XX.

Expedition of General Santa Cruz.—Lands at Arica.—Marches to Upper Peru.—Royalists abandon Lima.—General Sucre embarks for Chala.—Enters Arequipa.—Affair of Zepita.—Disasters of the patriots.—Their re-embarkation.—General Miller retreats by land to Lima.—The viceroy makes a new disposition of his forces.

It has been stated that the expedition under Santa Cruz united off Iquique on the 15th of June, 1823. The general caused a detachment of four hundred men to sail to Arica, to surprise two troops of royalist cavalry stationed in the valley of Asápa, a league inland. The patriot commanding officer, Colonel Elespuru, acted with such promptitude and boldness that, in the night of the 16th, he succeeded in making the whole royalist party prisoners; two hundred and thirty-nine horses and two hundred and twenty-three mules also fell into his hands.

On the 17th, Santa Cruz himself arrived at Arica, and on the following day all the troops were on shore. Some cavalry immediately took possession of Tacna. Colonel Pardo de Zela sailed with two companies to Quilca, to cause a diversion, by preventing the garrison of Arequipa from annoying the left flank of Santa Cruz on his march to the interior. The general, with commendable activity, lost not a moment in advancing to Moquegua, where he made the necessary dispositions to carry into effect his plan of operations.

Having formed his army into two divisions, one of which was placed under the orders of General Gamarra, second in command, the general-in-chief marched from Torata with the first, on the 23rd of July, by the Cordillera of Iscuchaca, towards the Desaguadero. Gamarra set out on the same day from Tacna, with the second division, towards Oruro, by the route of Tacora and San Andres de Machaca. These long marches were effected without any other sufferings than those arising from the severity of the cold, and the nature of the route over mountainous deserts. Santa Cruz obtained possession of the bridge of the Inca, across the Desaguadero, on the 29th of July, and occupied the city of La Paz on the 7th of August. The small garrison retired, abandoning all their military stores. The division of Gamarra arrived at Calamarca on the 10th of August, where his advance drove back General Olañeta, who, with fifteen hundred men, was marching from Potosi, unapprised of the movements of the patriots. Gamarra contented himself with proceeding to Oruro, where he found several pieces of artillery, and a quantity of military stores, and Olañeta was permitted to escape to Potosi.

Previous to Gamarra's entering Oruro, he was joined by the active guerrilla leader Colonel Lanza, with six hundred men, who had maintained himself six years with admirable constancy against every effort of the Spaniards to expel him from the valleys east of La Paz.

To the unceasing exertions and decision of Santa Cruz the promising prospects before him must be attributed. To use his own expression, "Fortune preceded his steps." Indeed, she favoured him on every side. Activity, boldness, and enterprise are generally favoured by Fortune; whilst she abandons sloth, timidity, and indecision. Colonel Urdiminea, with a thousand men, was a few leagues north of Jujuy, ready to make a diversion upon Potosi; and Arenales, who had a few months before left Peru, and now become governor of Salta, was making every effort to move forward with a body of *gauchos* for the same purpose. Three squadrons of the royalists had been defeated at Pisco by the Peruvian montoneros, assisted by a detachment of granaderos à caballo, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bogado. In short, every thing seemed to concur in crowning Santa Cruz's undertaking with success. But it is now necessary to return to the royalist army under Canterac, which we left investing Callao.

That general having learnt the rapid progress of Santa Cruz in Upper Peru, and that his army, instead of consisting of a few hundreds, actually amounted to several thousand efficient troops, despatched, on the 30th of June, General Valdez, with the battalions Gerona, Centro, Cantabria, four hundred cavalry, and two field-pieces, to co-operate with the viceroy, Carratalà, and Olañeta.

General Sucre being unfettered by the recent political changes, exerted himself to send from Callao three thousand men to act against Cuzco or Arequipa, or to co-operate with Santa Cruz, as circumstances might render most expedient. This expedition consisted of the following corps:

Peruvians.	120 cavalry.
Chilenos,	Battalion No. 4 (skeleton).
	1 company of artillery.
	180 cavalry.
Colombians.	Battalion Pinchincha.
	——— Vencedores.
	——— Voltigeros (formerly Numancia).
	——— 50 cavalry.

The cavalry and artillery with General Miller sailed from Callao, on the 4th of July: the remainder of the troops followed with Generals Lara, Alvarado, and Pinto. The place of disembarkation was Chala.

Canterac finding he could effect nothing decisive against the castles of Callao, and perceiving that Sucre had sent transports with the troops to the south, evacuated Lima on the 17th of July, and marched for Huancavelica. General Martinez, with the remains of the army of the Andes, was directed to follow him up; but Canterac retired unmolested.

The capital being once more in the hands of the patriots, and Sucre determining to place himself at the head of the expedition which had sailed for Chala, delegated his powers to the Marquess of Torre Tagle, and sailed on the 20th of July. The congress, previous to its proceeding to Truxillo, had directed that Santa Cruz should obey the orders of Sucre.

The royalists, flushed with their former successes, had latterly conducted themselves with great arrogance, and Canterac assumed a tone which even the viceroy himself had never adopted. "Insurgents," "rebels," "traitors," were the epithets used when alluding to the patriots; and scurrilous public papers teemed with sanguinary threats. On the preceding 23rd of March, General Canterac, being then at Huancayo, had addressed an official communication to the republican government at Lima, intimating that for the future he should be under the necessity of carrying into execution the decree of his most catholic majesty, which peremptorily ordered that no quarter should be given to foreigners in the service of the insurgents! Strange to say, the then president, Riva-Aguero, took no notice of this threat in his spiritless reply of the 15th of April: but he permitted some foreign officers to insert an article in the Lima Gazette of the 1st of May, announcing their willingness to accede to the terms of future hostilities as proposed by Canterac, and promising to treat with reciprocity any subjects of his most catholic majesty whom the chances of war might place within their power, not excepting even Canterac himself. The following translation of a letter written by Canterac, whilst investing Callao, to Rodil, the governor of Lima, and of a decree issued by the viceroy, will show the line of policy by which the royalists were guided at that time.

"My esteemed Rodil,—It is not advisable that the decrees published at Lima should be current in Europe, as will necessarily be the case if the first printed copies are circulated; and for this reason Camba goes to see how he can fill up the first number. I therefore repeat, that in public papers we must not mention such decrees, as manifest violent measures, and which are in contradiction to what is said of the adhesion of the people. The dragoons from Lima have not yet made their appearance here, where waits their arrival,

"Your most affectionate friend,
(Signed) "CANTERAC."

"This government being desirous of providing against every possible evil, not only to the inhabitants in general of these provinces, but even to those quarters unfortunately now occupied by the invaders, notifies, that all foreign goods and effects, found in such places on the entry of the national forces, shall be irrevocably confiscated for the benefit of the public, according to the laws which regulate us in such cases; and that this notice may be made known to all, it is hereby ordered to be printed and circulated in the government gazette.

"Cuzco, 20th January, 1822.
(Signed) "JOSE DE LA SERNA."

Until the battle of Moquegua, the royalists had limited their views to the preservation of Peru. From the date of that victory, their hopes became more comprehensive. They thenceforward reckoned upon eventually reducing the whole of South America to submission. They had gone so far as to settle amongst themselves who had the fairest chance of being nominated viceroys of Peru, Buenos Ayres, New Granada, and captains-general of Chile, &c. Even an expedition to Mexico was contemplated;

nor did they, it seems, relinquish such pleasing speculations until they were dispelled by the battle of Ayacucho.

On the 21st of July, General Miller landed at Chala, and immediately sent piquets to Atico, Chaparra, Chaipi, and Acari, to collect horses and mules. On the 28th, a montonero party, with a few regulars, advanced to Pausa, and surprised the sub-delegate of that province, with an escort of sixty men, who, being forty leagues inland, hardly knew that an enemy was upon the coast; so that the whole party was actually taken or dispersed whilst assisting at a bull-fight given by the municipality, in compliment to the sub-delegate's wife, who had lately arrived there.

On the 7th of August, Lieutenant-Colonel Raulet, who had been sent to Chumpi, skirmished with the rear-guard of Valdez, then passing through San Juan de Lucanas, and in full march to Upper Peru: but Valdez would not be diverted from his object, and proceeded on his march.

Sucre touched at Chala on the 1st of August. Miller rode back from Coracora to consult with him. It was arranged that the infantry should continue the voyage to Quilca, where Colonel Pardo de Zela had previously disembarked, and defeated a party sent against him from Arequipa; whilst the cavalry and a small detachment of infantry, with Miller, should proceed by land for the purpose of collecting supplies. Notwithstanding the devastated condition of the provinces of Parinacochas, Carabeli, Camaná, and Condesuyos, such was the undiminished enthusiasm of the inhabitants, that little difficulty was experienced in obtaining horses, mules, and other resources, to facilitate the movements of the infantry. So fatiguing was this service that Miller, upon arriving at Carabeli, was attacked by ague and fever, which confined him to his bed for three days. Being somewhat recovered, and anxious to surprise a royalist detachment stationed at Chuquibamba, he set out in a state of considerable debility, but rapidly regained his strength as he rode along. After an almost continued march of about thirty-four leagues, he entered Chuquibamba on the second morning after his departure from Carabeli; but the royalists were warned of his advance, and saved themselves by flight. In the course of the march of the patriots they halted for three hours at Apillon, near the Rio Grande. As they unsaddled, the rumbling noise of a distant earthquake was heard. Some shocks were felt by the peasantry half an hour afterwards, but the soldiers were by this time so fast asleep that they were not to be disturbed by shocks or noises of earthquakes. On the 24th of August, Miller reached the valley of Majes, which contains many large villages, in some of which he had the satisfaction of making the personal acquaintance of many respectable persons with whom he had been in epistolary communication, and from whom he had, on former campaigns, received much valuable information. Miller entered Aplao about ten at night, and went to the house of Don N. Garcia, where he found a large party debating upon the formalities necessary to be observed in their reception of the patriot chief. Some alarm, however, existed lest the royalists, who had fled from Chuquibamba, should have taken the direction of Aplao. As Miller's person was unknown to the company assembled, he was supposed to be an aide-de-camp, and as such invited to assist in the deliberations, which he did with becoming gravity, and it was nearly a quarter of an hour before they entertained a suspicion that their expected guest was already amongst them. Messengers were immediately despatched to all then eighbours, and the party kept up till a late hour. After breakfast, on the following morning, a young lady, Doña Juana de Cuello, sang a song which she had composed in the course of the night. On the 26th of August, Miller reached the valley of Siguas, where he found Sucre, who had disembarked at Quilca with the infantry.

On the 28th of August, General Sucre, with his division, moved on to the valley of Vitor, where he halted for that night and the following day. On the 29th, Miller, with one hundred and fifty cavalry, and a few mounted infantry, was sent on in front, and entered Arequipa on the 30th. Colonel Ramirez, with six hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, retired, after exchanging a few shots with an advanced party under Lieutenant-Colonel Don Isidoro Suares, supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Raulet. Ramirez supposed the patriot infantry to be at hand, while, in fact, it was twelve leagues in the rear, and did not enter Arequipa until the following day, with Sucre. Arequipa is a fine city, between the 16° and 17° south latitude, and in 72° of west longitude. It is about thirty leagues from the coast, and has about thirty thousand inhabitants. The valley is broad, and contains the large and populous villages of Paucarpata, Sabandia (famous for its baths), Chacarato, Mollevaya, Pocci, Quinqueña (or the verdant), Yara-bamba, Tiovaya, and others. The warm baths of Jesus are about two leagues to the south. Wheat is produced in great plenty, and of a good quality. Strawberries, and other fruits of the temperate zone, are common. The surrounding desert is limited by the Cordillera. At the distance of six or eight miles east of Arequipa is a conical mountain, the base of which may be about five leagues in circumference: on the summit is a crater which throws out smoke, unaccompanied by flame or cinders. A column of thin vapour was issuing from the volcano during the whole time the patriots occupied Arequipa; this had continued for some time. The mountain, being part of the fore-ground of the Andes, does not appear very lofty to the eye; but some Englishmen who climbed it spent two days in making an excursion to the summit, a task which has seldom been accomplished, owing to the difficulties of the ascent.

The river Chile flows through the city, and is crossed by a handsome stone bridge. The walls of the cathedral, of the convents, churches, and even of the houses, are of stone, and of great thickness, in order to provide against earthquakes, which are very frequent, and sometimes very destructive.

Sucre received a communication from Santa Cruz, from which it appeared that the latter was so confident of success, that he evaded the acceptance of offers of co-operation which Sucre had transmitted to him from Chala.

In the meanwhile the indefatigable royalist General Valdez continued his route by Andahuaylas and Sicuani to Puno; having, upon an average, marched seven leagues a day for fifty-seven successive days. Santa Cruz had remained in quiet possession of that part of Upper Peru extending from the bridge of the Inca to Oruro; his own head-quarters being in his native town, La Paz. Gamarra was at Oruro; so that the two divisions of the army were at the distance of fifty leagues from each other. But, when he learnt the approach of Valdez, Santa Cruz marched from La Paz to the bridge of the Inca, twenty leagues north of La Paz, and seventy of Oruro, in order to defend the passage of the Desaguadero, which he passed, leaving a detachment of each corps at the bridge, and continued his march to Zepita. Valdez left his own fatigued division at Sicuani, and, continuing his route to Puno, took with him from that place the division of Carratalà, and pushed on until he came in front of Santa Cruz's division at Zepita. The force with Valdez was as follows:

Battalion . Vitoria,
Partidarios,
Detachment of 1st regiment of infantry,
700 cavalry,
4 field-pieces, ...
} Total, about 1800.

Santa Cruz had with him,

Battalion . Legion,
Cazadores,
No. 2,
4,
400 cavalry, . .
2 field-pieces, . .
} Total, about 1600.

An action took place. Colonel Cerdeña, while leading on his battalion of the Legion, received a dangerous wound. On seeing their commander fall, the soldiers vacillated, and then fell back in disorder. The battalions, Cazadores, and No. 2, were completely repulsed, and fled in confusion. Fortune seemed to have decided for the royalists, when a brilliant charge was made by Commandants Soulange and Aramburu, at the head of two squadrons of hussars of the Legion. The colonel and principal officers were foreigners; and, in conformity to the spirit of their declaration, addressed to Canterac, in the Lima Gazette, they gave no quarter. Actuated by the same sentiments as their officers, the men fought with desperate bravery, and turned the scale of victory*. Valdez was obliged to retrace his steps to Pomata. Santa Cruz re-crossed the Desaguadero by the bridge, in order to be nearer to Gamarra, still at Oruro.

Upon learning the disembarkation and progress of Santa Cruz, the viceroy had marched from Cuzco, and collected all his disposable force at Sicuani, where he waited the arrival of Valdez. His division having united with that left by Valdez, his excellency continued his march with them to Puno, where he arrived on the 25th of August, and on the 28th came up with Valdez at Pomata, three days after the indecisive affair of Zepita.

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* Shortly after the action, the viceroy sent a flag of truce, with a disavowal of the principle laid down by Canterac, and to adjust the differences out of what his excellency termed a misunderstanding. With characteristic generosity, La Serna released Colonel Cerdeña (a Spaniard by birth), who was left behind by the patriots on account of severe wounds, and who, after a protracted illness, resumed his post in the republican Peruvian army, where he served again with high distinction.

The royalist infantry was formed into two divisions, the first under Carratalà, the second under Villalobos; the cavalry was placed under the orders of Colonel Ferras. The viceroy assumed the chief command: Valdez was named chief of the staff, and second in command. The royalist force amounted to about four thousand five hundred men. The patriot divisions of Gamarra and Santa Cruz, including Lanza's montoneros, and some other guerrilla parties that had been formed, did not in the whole fall short of seven thousand; but they were at a considerable distance from each other. Santa Cruz, however, began to fall back upon Oruro.

Unable to follow Santa Cruz over the Desaguadero by the bridge of the Inca, which was strongly defended by a *tête-de-pont*, the viceroy made a detour on the right bank, by Guallicani, Fasacomo, Santiago de Machaca, to the ford of Calacota, where, on the 3rd of September, the royal army crossed the Desaguadero on *balsas*. On the 4th, it advanced to the Hacienda del Marques; on the 5th, to the Pampas of Viacha, where they took some patriot stragglers: the troops of Santa Cruz, on their march to join Gamarra, having passed this place only twenty-four hours previously. On the 6th the viceroy advanced to Calamarca; on the 7th to Molinos; on the 8th to Sica-Sica; on the 9th to Panduro; on the 10th to Quererani; on the 11th to Sepulturas; having performed a march of sixty-four leagues in eight days. This place is situated a little to the east of the road running north and south from La Paz to Oruro, and two leagues from the latter place. The viceroy took up a strong position, for the purpose of waiting the arrival of Olañeta with about two thousand five hundred men from Potosi.

Santa Cruz formed a junction with Gamarra on the 8th, near Oruro. The patriot commander states that he attempted to bring the viceroy to action, but that the latter manœuvred until he united his forces with those of Olañeta, at Sora-Sora, six leagues south-east of Oruro, on the 14th of September.

If Santa Cruz, instead of going to Oruro, had ordered Gamarra to form a junction with himself in the neighbourhood of Viacha, it would have given them the advantage of a safe retreat to Puno by the bridge of the Inca, which, defended by a small force, would have compelled the royalists to make another long detour, and have given Santa Cruz time to unite with Sucre from Arequipa. Or, if Santa Cruz had preferred it, he might have retired to Potosi, and opened a communication with Urdiminea and Arenales, in the province of Salta. In either case he would have fallen back upon reinforcements and resources. Unfortunately he did not decide upon any plan until a retreat to the coast became the only alternative.

On the same day on which the viceroy effected a junction with Olañeta, Santa Cruz began his retreat towards the bridge of the Inca, in the hope of meeting Sucre's division, the co-operation of which he had a few weeks previously declined. The royalists lost no time in following; and they came in sight of the retreating patriots on the morning of the 17th, at Sica-Sica, as the latter were leaving the place.

Colonel Brandsen, at the head of the cavalry, which had so much distinguished itself at Zepita, covered the retreat to Ayo-Ayo (nine leagues distant), and kept the enemy in check; notwithstanding which, the loss of the patriots on this day's march was very great, in baggage, and by desertion. After a halt of a few hours at Ayo-Ayo, Santa Cruz would have complied with the wishes of his troops, and the ardent entreaties of many of his officers, and given battle; but, by some mismanagement, the artillery had taken the wrong road. This was particularly unfortunate; for the royalist pursuers were so much dispersed, in consequence of having marched thirty-nine leagues in three days, that had Santa Cruz made a stand, it was the intention of the viceroy to fall back again upon Sica-Sica, until he could re-advance with all his forces. This would have given Santa Cruz some days to halt, or to retire in good order, as well as to regain his artillery; and the dispirited soldiers would have recovered their lost confidence: but Santa Cruz continued his precipitate flight; the panic became general; insubordination followed; the artillery was abandoned, and a general dispersion took place.

At Ayo-Ayo they experienced a dreadful snow storm, and many of the numerous stragglers of both sides perished from the inclemency of the weather. Such was the inability of the royalists to continue the pursuit, that the viceroy was compelled to remain at Ayo-Ayo, from whence he detached Valdez with such of the cavalry as were in a state to be sent forward, together with about eight hundred infantry.

On the night of the 18th, two hundred lancers were surprised. by an inferior force of royalists, and annihilated at Viacha. The commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Navajas, and a few men, only escaped.

To complete the misfortune of the patriots, the officer left in charge of the *tête-de-pont* at the Desaguadero surrendered without making the slightest resistance, and thus left the passage of that river perfectly free, by the best and shortest road. The fugitives of Santa Cruz took the road to Ilo by Santa Rosa and Moquegua, committing great depredations on the way. About one thousand three hundred men got on board the transports; three hundred of the hussars of the Legion, who embarked in one of these vessels, were captured by a Spanish privateer, and sent to Chiloe. On the passage, nearly thirty officers of different corps were separated from the men, and transshipped to the privateer, which soon afterwards foundered at sea. The brave Soulange, Correa, and many other meritorious officers, amongst whom was the Marquess of San Miguel, perished, with every other soul on board. Thus, out of seven thousand men, to which number Santa Cruz had augmented his force, less than one thousand returned to Lima. Santa Cruz himself went on board the O'Higgins, where the noble-minded Guise received his friend in adversity with redoubled attention. It is a pleasure to record, that when political jealousy occasioned a long and unjust imprisonment of the admiral at Lima, Santa Cruz manfully interceded with Bolivar at Potosi, at a time when to plead the cause of

Guise was not the shortest way to the favour of the Liberator. This trait reflects the highest credit upon the feelings of Santa Cruz.

Colonel Lanza had been detached from the retreating army of Santa Cruz so soon as it reached the vicinity of Sica-Sica. Lanza's party, increased by the accession of convalescents and stragglers to upwards of one thousand men, directed its course to the mountains of Cochabamba. Olañeta having taken possession of La Paz on the 24th of September, left that city, and coming up with Lanza near Alzuri on the 16th of October, completely defeated him. A very small number escaped with Lanza to the mountains.

After the destruction of the army of Santa Cruz, the royalists directed their sole attention to the expulsion of Sucre; who, notwithstanding the disinclination of Santa Cruz to admit of co-operation, was advancing towards Puno with the double object of supporting him in the event of a disaster, or of giving fuller effect to his successes. Upon arriving at Apo (twelve leagues from Arequipa), Sucre learned the total dispersion of the army of Santa Cruz, and the approach of the royalists. The viceroy and Valdez were advancing from Puno, whilst Canterac, who had reached Cuzco with five thousand men, was continuing his march to Arequipa by the *Despoblado*. Sucre was therefore obliged to countermarch, to avoid coming in contact with so superior a force in his front, his retreat to the coast being, at the same time, endangered by the advance of Canterac. At the time that Sucre retired from Apo, Miller, with a small escort, set out from the same place for the front, in order to obtain more positive intelligence of the movements of the royalists. His course lay over bleak table land, upon which was here and there an Indian hut; at some of which he left a man or two, as their horses tired. About midnight he arrived, with only three followers, at the post-house of Pati (eight leagues from Apo), which had been deserted by its inhabitants. He learned from an Indian, casually passing, that the army of Valdez was still at a considerable distance; but that a party of sixty or eighty royalists were near at hand. Miller waited until daybreak in this cold uncomfortable spot, where nothing edible for man or beast was to be found. One soldier was appointed to take charge of the horses, while the other two stood sentry, in turn, a little in advance. They had strict orders to listen attentively, and to report if they heard footsteps or the smallest noise. A small fire was made in one corner of the post-house; but with as little blaze as possible, lest it might serve as a beacon to the enemy. Having spent a very dreary night, Miller set out with one of the soldiers, leaving the other two to follow him at sunset. As he had left a relay at Apo, he changed horses there on his way back, and after having rode twenty leagues, he reached Arequipa before night set in. This fatiguing journey brought on a fever that confined him to his bed.

On the next day Sucre set out for Moquegua, where he had an interview with Santa Cruz and Gamarra, then on their way to get on board of ship at

Ilo. Sucre returned to Arequipa on the 6th of October. The patriot infantry commenced their march for Quilca, but most of the cavalry remained in the city; a piquet being stationed at Cangallo, four leagues on the Apo road. Half way between Cangallo and Apo there is a track called *el Botadero*, which branches off to Arequipa, and reunites with the high road two miles from the town. The *Botadero* is the shortest way, but so difficult that it is seldom used excepting by pedestrians. Miller had strongly urged the propriety of a piquet being placed on this path, in addition to that at Cangallo; and repeated orders were given to one of the local authorities to send some mounted peasants there, but these orders were not obeyed.

In the meantime the entrance of the royalists became every hour more and more certain, although they were not expected for three or four days. The partisans of royalty, in Arequipa, became imboldened in proportion to the closer proximity of their friends; while those addicted to the patriot cause were filled with dismay. Miller continued so ill that it was considered impossible for him to accompany the retreating patriots. In this situation the personal attentions of the royalist, as well as of the patriot, party redoubled with increasing danger. The Spanish lady, at whose house he was billeted, offered to secrete him for a month, if necessary, and then to facilitate his escape by the assistance of her husband, a Spaniard, who was then with the royal army, and being at the head of the custom-house, possessed considerable influence. Other royalist friends provided a litter, and mules were kept in attendance at his door, to move him off at a moment's warning, in case he should decline the friendly offers of his hostess.

By this time the viceroy and Valdez, with their forces, had reached Pati, whence they detached Colonel Ferras, at the head of one hundred and fifty cavalry and two hundred and fifty well-mounted infantry, to advance with all possible speed to surprise the patriots remaining in Arequipa. Having passed Apo, Ferras took the path of *el Botadero;* but, losing his way from the darkness of the night, some of his men wandered to Cangallo, which gave the alarm to the patriot piquet stationed there. But for this circumstance, Ferras would have entered Arequipa before daybreak, and, in all probability, would have succeeded in completely effecting his object: but an hour after daylight, on the 8th, Sucre heard of his approach. Miller, who had by this time suddenly recovered, mounted his horse, and rode out to reconnoitre. Soon after passing the suburbs, he discovered a few royalist infantry posted upon a knoll in the desert south-east of Arequipa. They fired several shots, but all went over his head. He saw the main body, under Ferras, rapidly advancing, upon which he rode back into the town to make his report to Sucre. Lieutenant-Colonel Raulet and his squadron with much valour disputed the entrance of the enemy; but they were repulsed with considerable loss, and driven into the city. The patriots made some gallant charges in the streets, but were finally expelled. Sucre was in the great square when the royalists entered it. Before he quitted it, some of the clergy and one or two of the municipality, who had made loud professions of patriotism, caused the church bells to ring a welcome to the entering royalists. At the same time these worthies displayed, from a balcony, the portrait of King Ferdinand. Sucre directed Miller to place himself at the head of the rear-guard of the retreating patriots, now reduced to one hundred and forty cavalry. With these he took the route which led to Uchumayo, across an open desert four leagues in breadth. The headmost of the Spanish cavalry followed and lanced the patriots as they scampered, pell-mell, over the rough pavement, and across the bridge, in order to clear the town, and form again in the open desert, four leagues in breadth, to Uchumayo. In crossing the plain, Miller saw a favourable opportunity to wheel about and charge about a hundred of his pursuers. He had done all he could to animate the drooping spirits of his men: they cheered, and, having now the advantage of numbers, seemed willing to make a last effort. They charged, but failed; and were again completely routed. The men did not display their wonted courage; they had been dispirited by events which, on the other hand, had flushed the royalists with more than usual valour. Such of the patriots as escaped the first onset fled with renewed speed. Several of the royalist dragoons, who had perhaps served previously in the patriot army, and had been made prisoners, recognised Miller, and, saluting him very civilly by name, invited him to surrender. They made several detours to cut him off whenever he slackened his speed: but as he was well mounted, and the pursuit being on an open sandy plain, he baffled their attempts. It is singular that they did not discharge a single carbine at him, although he kept at no great distance ahead. The royalists were too fatigued to follow farther than to the neighbourhood of Uchumayo, where Miller remained, with an officer and two or three orderlies, till dark, to ascertain whether the enemy intended approaching the coast immediately, or remaining in Arequipa.

Generals Sucre, Lara, and Alvarado chief of the staff, embarked at Quilca, and sailed for Callao: whilst Miller, with the dispersed cavalry, and a company of infantry, was ordered to effect his retreat by land to Lima by the way of Camaná, Ocoña, Carabelí, Sondor, Chala, Nasca, and Ica, a distance of more than two hundred leagues. At Camaná Miller had the pleasure of passing twenty-four hours at the hospitable residence of his friend Colonel Flores, around whose table were assembled the numerous branches of the Flores family. On the next day Miller, leaving a well mounted detachment to bring him intelligence, forded the river, and remained with Colonel Escovedo and a couple of orderlies, on the northern bank, while the rest of his troops continued their march to Ocoña. The river sides are broad and thickly covered with trees and underwood, amongst which are hidden several widely scattered cottages. On approaching one of these sylvan retreats, a very handsome woman, about twenty-five years of age, came out to receive them. She had light hair, blue eyes, and a fair clear complexion. The carnation of her cheeks had almost entirely yielded to the encroachments of the lily, and there was an air of pensiveness, joined to attractive manners, which heightened, while it softened, the expression of an always interesting and beautiful countenance. This lady* was no other than the fair object of the poet Melgar's vehement adoration. Unrequited love inspired those sweetly sorrowing strains in which he diffuses his impassioned harmony over the tender melancholy of hopeless affection. The young lady having refused Melgar, and married another, she was some time afterwards obliged to flee, with her husband, to escape from the persecution of the royalists, and found an asylum in the labyrinthian banks of the river Camaná. In the evening of the day now spoken of, she played on the guitar and sang some popular songs with great taste and execution. Escovedo, who was a native of Arequipa and almost brought up with her, now besought his fair townswoman to favour the company with one of those *yaravis* which enchant the ear while they sadden the imagination of every Peruvian. But this entreaty touched a delicate chord; a thousand soul-subduing ideas were associated with the melody called for; the songstress sighed bitterly, and at last burst into a flood of tears. This unexpected sight of grief, and the recollections of the hapless Melgar, produced sensations of deep regret in the mind of every one present.

At Ocoña the patriots gained three or four days upon their pursuers by a *ruse de guerre*, by causing it to be believed that a reinforcement expected from Chile had arrived at the Planchada; in consequence of which the royalist Colonel Ameller, who had been sent in pursuit, retired from Camaná towards Arequipa, and did not resume the chase. Thus Miller was enabled to halt for five days at Carabelí, where he bivouacked in some rich lucern fields. The horses were got into working condition, and properly shod; and discipline was again established in the division.

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* Her excellent father, Paredes, who is still living at Arequipa, was one of Miller's secret correspondents previous to entering that city. Miller afterwards received much attention and civility from him and his family.

Miller had received, at Quilca, a written order from Sucre, to inflict the punishment of death upon all depredators during the retreat. A patriot soldier, named Santos Colinas, was shot for plundering at Carabelí, almost in sight of the Spanish advance, as it descended into the spacious valley.

From Carabelí are two roads to Chala, one through Chaparra, the other by Sondor and Chaipi. A league or two beyond Sondor the last-named road divides; the right branches off to Chumpi, San Juan de Lucanas, Cordova, and Ica; the second branch leads direct to Chaipi. Although Miller had got his troops into good marching order, it was important to mislead Canterac, whose advance entered the valley as Miller quitted the town of Carabelí in the afternoon of the 23rd of October. The patriot infantry had marched on the morning of that day. Some hours after the cavalry ascended a steep hill, for above an hour, and proceeding along table land, marched for above two hours after sunset. The party then halted; fires were made; and the men, suffering from a freezing temperature, slept among rocks and heath until midnight, when the moon having arisen, the party again proceeded, and reached Sondor soon after sunrise on the 24th. The men were so benumbed that it was with difficulty that heath could be collected and fires made, and some time elapsed before they could attend to their horses. Lieutenant-Colonel Suares and several of the soldiers, who took off their boots, were unable to put them on again for several hours, on account of swollen feet. Sondor is situated at the extremity of a valley formed on the table land, and circumscribed by ridges which gradually meet and form an obtuse angle. Water is scarce, and the elevated plain seems to offer but indifferent pasturage and few capabilities for cultivation. The hamlet consists of ten or a dozen scattered huts, each having its surrounding patches for lucern, potatoes, or barley. The inhabitants fled when the patriots appeared in sight; but, in the course of a few hours, they returned. Their timidity is easily accounted for; for they had been seized, tied up, beaten, and had their houses sacked, more than once. Every military detachment that halted there unavoidably destroyed the crops of lucern, and often stole away their oxen, sheep, goats, or poultry, whenever they could lay hands upon them. In this way hundreds of villages and thousands of individuals have been robbed of their little all; but they were poor oppressed Indians, and humble misery seldom arrests the attention or engages the sympathies of the world. The patriot infantry under Colonel Videla did not reach Sondor until close of day on the 24th: having neglected taking the precaution of halting on the night before until the moon arose, they lost their way. This mischance occasioned the loss of a day, besides much uneasiness of mind previous to the infantry coming up. Some hours were allowed for repose, but this interval was passed in the midst of serious apprehensions of being attacked, and cavalry piquets were patrolling until one o'clock on the following morning, when Miller continued his retreat. It was given out that his day's march was for Chumpi; but previous to reaching the spot where the road forks off, he permitted the guides brought from Carabelí to escape, and then took the Chaipi road; but before doing this, he despatched an aide-de-camp, Major Sowersby, forward to Chumpi, with orders to prepare for the reception of the division on the next day. Successive messengers were afterwards sent after Sowersby, ordering him to Chaipi, but not until after he had made arrangements at Chumpi, and without informing him that his comrades were directing their steps to Chaipi. Thus Canterac received, as was intended, from his emissaries at Chumpi, a confirmation of the report made by Miller's guides. The Spanish general accordingly set out from Carabelí, and took the road to Pararca, in the hope of cutting off, at Chumpi, the further retreat of the patriots.

Miller arrived at Chaipi on the 25th. Before he entered the village he saw the inhabitants on some adjoining hills. He found they had deserted their huts on account of what they thought were royalist plunderers; but these proved to be a few dispersed patriots under one George Mead, a North American, who was setting a shameful example. He was pursued, but escaped. Having restored some degree of confidence at Chaipi, Miller rode on himself to Matarani, where he slept. Being anxious to ascertain if Canterac had taken the Chaparra or coast road, he set out early next morning from Matarani, and arrived at Chala about sunrise. He took up his quarters once more in the parsonage of his faithful friend the *cura*, Doctor Don Mariano de Bejerano, whose well-furnished table and conversational talents were alike calculated to refresh the body and enliven the mind of the wayfaring guest. Among other anecdotes told in the course of the evening he related the following, which is translated as closely as can be done from memory. "Some forty years ago, an Irish boy, about eighteen years of age, appeared at the door of a respectable house in the valley of Majes, and asked for a supper and a hammock for the night, with an air of confidence not commonly shown on a self-introduction. He was, however, readily admitted, and in the course of the evening told his adventures, from which it appeared that he had been sent to sea two or three years before, but, disliking the confinement of a ship, ran away from some merchant vessel trading in contraband on the coast of Peru, and that he had wandered about the country ever since, always receiving succour and protection, but, being of a roving disposition, he continued to go farther without faring worse.

"On the following morning, instead of taking his departure, he told the good people of the house that he liked the looks of them all, and that he would willingly remain and make himself useful, if they would find him in victuals. No objection was made, and he speedily became one of the family. In a very few days he extended his acquaintance to the village shoemaker, and then persuaded his patrons that he should prefer going to hear mass in a new pair of shoes. When these were brought home, he discovered that he could not very well wear new shoes without new stockings, nor both without new something else. He never asked for any thing as a matter of favour, but demanded it with an easy boldness of manner, so tempered by broad humour, that he never met with a refusal. Within the first two months, he had found out every little shop in the valley, and had waylaid every passing pedler, until he collected rather an extensive wardrobe. Soon after this the young spark became tired of inactivity, or perhaps he panted to display his outfit beyond the boundaries of the valley. Be that as it may, he took an early opportunity to say to his friends, 'You have no work to employ me, and I shall be a constant expense to you if I remain; give me therefore twenty dollars, and I will go seek my fortune elsewhere.' A family consultation was held, and, not twenty, but fifty dollars were put into his hands. An affectionate parting ensued, and years rolled away without bringing any tidings of the oft-remembered wanderer. In the meanwhile, one of the sons (Don Mariano Bejerano, the original narrator of this tale), grew up and became a priest. He was accustomed to go to Arequipa once in two or three years. As he came out of the bishop's palace, at one of these visits, he felt himself almost lifted off the ground by a man who, with open arms, had darted across the street to him, and exclaimed, 'Don't you know me? I am that stranger lad who found so kind a shelter in your father's house: come to mine. I have a shop full of goods: I have no debts: I have four thousand dollars in my strong box: I have a wife and four children: come, then, and receive that welcome which we shall be delighted to give.'"

From the active Bejerano, as well as from his parishioners, Miller received satisfactory proofs of their undiminished patriotism. Four or five well-mounted trusty peasants were sent to various points towards Carabelí, in order to bring timely notice if the royalists were seen advancing towards the coast. Early in the following morning (the 27th) an alarm was given. The spirited priest was the first on horseback, and accompanied Miller to the front, when it was discovered that the supposed enemies were Major Sowersby and his escort, who had lost their way in the night-march. In the evening, Miller proceeded to Atiquipa, attended by the worthy curate, who, on taking leave on the 28th, expressed his determination to conceal himself in the mountains if the royalists should enter Chala, which, however, they did not do.

Miller having, on the 1st of November, rode on ahead of his party from Acari to Nasca, was near falling into the hands of some royalists who had been sent from Cordova, a town in the interior, to ascertain his movements. The general was in bed at the house of his friend, Don José Manuel Mesa, half a league from the town. It was the first time for more than a week that he had undressed. He had not long retired before a messenger from a patriot in the town announced the entrance of the Spanish detachment. But it was not until receiving another friendly warning from a *royalist* family that he rose and retired to the woods, where he lay concealed until his own little division came up next day, and expelled the royalist soldiers. Don José Manuel Mesa is a rich *hacendado*, from whom Miller had received valuable information and important aid in his former excursions. He is a most worthy man, an enlightened citizen, and an ardent lover of his country. He was at this time a widower, with a large family. In order to occupy the minds of his elder sons, who were fine promising youths, Mesa taught them the French language, which he himself had learned by means of books alone. None of them read with a good accent; but all were sufficiently well versed in it to translate a page of Telemachus off hand. The easy manners and the perfect good breeding of this family would be admired even in the high circles of England or France. Nasca is an *oasis* nearly one hundred miles from the nearest inhabited valley on the south, and almost half that distance from the nearest on the north. The same well-bred courtesy is sometimes to be met with in other spots equally isolated, and strikes the imagination of the traveller with equal pleasure and astonishment.

Miller succeeded in effecting his retreat to Lima: he conducted with him six hundred spare horses and mules, and four hundred head of oxen for the service of the army in the capital. He was followed up by the royalists one hundred and ten leagues, as far as Lucanas.

In the course of this pursuit, the royalist generals had recourse to stratagem to raise supplies from the purses of wealthy patriots. Amongst other instances, Canterac alighted at the house of Dr. Saens, the *cura* of Chumpi, and announced himself as a patriot officer. An excellent dinner was prepared for the new guest, and his five or six brother officers. In the course of conversation, Canterac managed to extract the priest's opinion of the different royalist generals. When the animated clergyman drew Canterac's own picture, he could hold out no longer, but making himself known, fined the incautious ecclesiastic five thousand dollars, and marched him off a prisoner until the sum was paid. At Coracora the same general played a similar trick on the priest of that place, and punished, with equal severity, his unguarded loquacity. The aggrieved parties some time afterwards wrote to Miller, giving an account of the snare into which they had fallen. After the capitulation of Ayacucho, General Bedoya, who had accompanied Canterac on these occasions, related the same adventures to Miller, and spoke of them as exceedingly good jokes.

At the time the infantry of Sucre were re-embarking at Quilca, two thousand Chilenos, under the gallant and distinguished Colonel Benevente, arrived at Arica from Valparaiso. This officer was superseded in the command by the Chileno general Pinto, who, upon Sucre's leaving Quilca, had agreed that the Chilenos should occupy Iquique, or move by means of shipping to other points in the Puertos Intermedios, for the purpose of preserving a footing in those provinces, until reinforcements could be sent from Lima. Pinto is an amiable, gentlemanly man; but the events of the last campaigns seemed to have depressed his spirits, and to have deprived him of all sort of energy. Without orders, and contrary to the arrangement with Sucre, Pinto took upon himself to command the destruction of the horses, and to sail back to Chile.

The schooner in which Pinto was embarked was attacked in the course of the voyage by a privateer, but was preserved from capture by the gallantry of the commanding officer, Captain Winter, who worked the only gun (a traversing twenty-four pounder), until a shot having luckily carried away the mainyard of the privateer, the schooner escaped to Coquimbo, of which province Pinto became governor.

The provinces of the Puertos Intermedios being once more cleared of patriot troops, the viceroy made, at Arequipa, a new distribution of the royalist army, by dividing it into two separate commands.

Canterac marched with his division, now called the Army of the North, to occupy his old position in the valley of Xauxa, and to threaten, or operate against, Lima. Valdez, with the other division, called the Army of the South, was to remain in the provinces of Arequipa, Puno, &c. The viceroy returned to the seat of his government at Cuzco, a convenient and central situation.

The object of these dispositions was not only to provide against attacks from the patriots who had the means of conveying troops by sea, but also to observe the movements, and counteract the influence, of the ultra-royalist General Olañeta, who now commanded five thousand royalist troops in Upper Peru, and had become an object of distrust to Canterac and other generals supposed to possess liberal sentiments, who had taken with enthusiasm the oath of fidelity to the Spanish constitution of 1820. On the downfall of the constitution in 1823, the same generals acknowledged, with the same formalities, and apparently with equal readiness, the restoration of absolutism in Spain. Olañeta, however, placed no confidence in the political sincerity of La Serna, Canterac, and others. He denounced them in his proclamations as *freemasons*; refused to obey orders from the viceroy; and despatched a messenger to Madrid by the way of Buenos Ayres, to inform the king of his proceedings, in full confidence of obtaining the royal sanction. In the meanwhile Upper Peru was avowedly independent of the viceroy, who was obliged to detach the Army of the South under Valdez to prevent the consummation of Olañeta's grand scheme.

But notwithstanding these dissensions, the forces of the royalists were augmented by recruits, and by prisoners of war compelled to serve. They were, at this period, calculated at twenty thousand men, and there appeared very slender hopes that the patriots would be able to make an effectual resistance to victorious and overwhelming numbers. Indeed the cause of independence in Peru seemed to hang by a single thread. But Colombia could not behold unmoved the declining fortunes of her neighbour and ally. Colombia recollected the assistance she had received from the Peruvian division at Pinchincha, and she wisely and generously resolved to pay the debt tenfold, by sending her best troops, and with them her own Liberator.

CHAPTER XXI.

General Bolivar arrives in Lima.—Marquess of Torre-Tagle.—Riva-Aguero dissolves congress at Truxillo.—He is made a prisoner.—Mode of recruiting the Peruvian army.—Uniform.—Pay.—Rations.

The president, liberator of Colombia, General Bolivar, having obtained permission from the congress of that republic to proceed to Peru, left the vice-president Santander at the head of the government in Bogota; embarked at Guayaquil; landed at Callao; and, on the 1st of September, 1823, made his public entry into Lima, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. His excellency was immediately invested with supreme authority in military and political affairs. The Marquess of Torre-Tagle, who had been previously nominated by the congress president of Peru, still retained the *title;* but such was his professed admiration of Bolivar, and so great his fears of Riva-Aguero, that, with his own concurrence, the powers of president were reduced to a mere shadow of authority.

The country suffered nothing by the virtual retirement of Torre-Tagle, for his administration had been barefacedly venal. He gave large sums to individuals for the promise of their support against Riva-Aguero; several of which transactions being made known to Bolivar, he removed some of the receivers from important posts.

The patriot forces now at Lima and its vicinity might amount to seven thousand men, of which two-thirds were Colombians; and reinforcements were daily expected from Guayaquil and Panamá.

The following is the translation of a letter from the Liberator to Miller:—

"Lima, 26th October, 1823.

"My dear General,—For a long time I have desired to know you personally, for your services have assured to you the gratitude of every American who is a lover of liberty and of merit. Receive this now in testimony of my esteem, and believe that I have the greatest desire to manifest to you that consideration to which you are entitled from your noble conduct in the army of Peru.—I am,

"With the most distinguished consideration,

"Your attentive servant, "BOLIVAR."

It has been mentioned, that the ex-president Riva-Aguero had retired to Truxillo. On his arrival in that city, however, he thought proper to call in question the validity of his dismissal; to re-assemble such members of the congress as had accompanied or followed him from Callao; and, notwithstanding that the deputies had prorogued their sittings *sine die*, they resumed their sessions under the auspices of the self-appointed president. One of his first measures was to raise troops; and, in a short time, upwards of three thousand recruits from the northern provinces were armed and equipped in the department of Truxillo. His next measure was to dissolve congress, and to banish its refractory members. Those who in Truxillo had been the most eloquent eulogists of Riva-Aguero became his most noisy detractors upon their return to Lima, where most of them reunited. Peru had at this period two presidents and a dictator. The royalists in the south were, soon afterwards, almost equally divided, and may be said to have been governed by two viceroys.

On the 13th of November, 1823, the congress gave to the republic a constitution which was, a few days after, proclaimed and sworn to with the customary ceremonies. This seems to have been rather out of season; the royalists being so near at hand, and the capital in so much danger.

Bolivar marched from Lima in the second week of November, 1823, and arrived at Pativilca on the 17th of the same month. His excellency entered into a correspondence with Riva-Aguero, in order to induce him to acknowledge the government of which Torre-Tagle was the nominal head. Riva-Aguero refused to agree to the terms proposed; and it is said that Bolivar felt so much discouraged that he thought seriously of abandoning Peru to its fate; but that which the liberator could not effect by negotiation was brought about by Riva-Aguero's own troops, who, headed by one of his most confidential officers, Colonel La Fuente, made the *soi-disant* president prisoner on the 25th of November. Torre-Tagle, with the concurrence of congress, sentenced him to be shot as a traitor; it being alleged, that Riva-Aguero had agreed to join the royalists; but which charge has never been clearly proved, although it is believed that he had held communications of an equivocal nature with the royalists. The sentence of death was commuted into banishment; and Riva-Aguero sailed for Europe by the way of Guayaquil.

The troops which he had raised, or which had joined his standard, now submitted to Bolivar; and La Fuente was promoted to the rank of general of brigade for his services in deposing Riva-Aguero.

On the arrival of Miller at Lima, in the beginning of November, he was appointed chief of the staff of the Peruvian army; the command of which also devolved upon him, *ad interim*, until a commander-in-chief should be nominated. The troops of Peru consisted merely of the relics of the corps scattered in the disastrous campaigns of the south; whilst the troops raised at Truxillo were still hostile to Torre-Tagle, as well as to the Colombian auxiliaries, and, above all, to the liberator.

Measures were taken to fill up the vacancies which had occurred in the Peruvian corps, and levies were ordered to be made in the different provinces occupied by the patriots. The system for recruiting was in general extremely arbitrary, and barely justified by the emergency of the case.

In virtue of an order from the executive, or from the general-in-chief, the prefect of a department directed his sub-delegates of provinces to press, and send to the capital of the department, the provincial quotas. Thence they were marched to head-quarters, where they were told off to different corps by the chief of the staff. It has often happened, that the father and the son, the industrious and the vagabond, were indiscriminately included in those cruel levies, which were usually made in the most unfeeling manner; for, during the war, the provincial governments might be considered beyond the reach of wholesome control; indeed they might be called absolute. It may therefore easily be conceived, that sub-governors and their inferior officers could, when of exceptionable character, convert their power into means of extortion; but these abuses arising out of the unsettled state of affairs will naturally disappear as the new governments acquire stability.

It may not be uninteresting to some readers to be informed as to the manner in which the liberating army was clothed, paid, and provisioned. The uniform of the troops of Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, was generally blue, with scarlet, crimson, or green cuffs and collars, with or without a white edging, and sometimes red or white lace. But these uniforms were frequently departed from in consequence of the quantities of military clothing purchased at auctions in Europe, and sent out by speculators to Peru. The latter, though expensive, could be obtained at a much lower rate than the clothing made up in the country; and on this account the regiments frequently offered a *bizarre* appearance. Although stocks and gaiters were served out whenever they could be procured, both might be advantageously dispensed with in the warm climates on the coast. Shoes were not commonly worn during a campaign. *Ojotas*, or sandals, were used. A company, a regiment, or even an army, can re-sandal itself in half an hour, if a proper quantity of green hides be given out; and of this material there is always an abundance. Each man makes his own *ojotas*, which are pierced with holes, and drawn tight by laces of the same material. Arms and accoutrements were generally of English manufacture.

Whenever the patriot troops were dispersed in small detachments on the coast, they became slovenly; but whenever the army united, discipline was re-established, and the men became excellent, even in appearance, in spite of uncovered ankles.

The South Americans make admirable soldiers. They are naturally brave, docile, quick at learning their duties, supple in limbs, sober, hardy, and cheerfully subordinate under fatigue and privations. But perhaps it is only the Chilenos who are almost equally good as cavalry, infantry, or sailors.

The distinctions, indicating the rank of the officer, were as follows:

Ensign or cornet.—One narrow stripe of lace round each cuff.

Second lieutenant.—Two stripes.

First lieutenant.—Two stripes.

Captain.—Three stripes.

Major.—Two epaulettes.

Lieutenant-colonel.—Two epaulettes. When the bullion is of gold the strap is of silver, and *vice versâ*.

Colonel.—Two epaulettes. Blue cloth strap, embroidered with gold or silver laurel leaf.

General officers of Peru *.

General of brigade.—Two gold epaulettes, red cloth strap, embroidered with one star and laurel leaf. Sash, sky-blue.

General of division.—The same, with two stars on each epaulette. Scarlet sash.

Gran mariscal.—The same, with three stars on each epaulette. Sash bicolor, red and white.

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* The uniform of the general officers in the service of Chile and Buenos Ayres differs from that of Peru.

The coat of a general officer.—Blue with scarlet cuffs and collars, and blue facing, all embroidered. Trowsers, scarlet and embroidered. Gold-laced cocked hat, with feathers, as in the French service.

The monthly pay in the Peruvian service is as follows:

	Spanish dollars.	Flank Companies.
Gran mariscal . . .	666	
General of division . .	500	
———— brigade . .	333	
Colonel of infantry . .	240	
Lieutenant-colonel . .	160	
Major	110	
Adjutant	60	
Abanderado (colour bearer) .	40	
Chaplain	30	
Surgeon	75	
Drum-major	22	
Captain	75	90
First lieutenant . . .	50	60
Second lieutenant . . .	45	50
Ensign	40	45
First serjeant . . .	18	20
Second ditto . . .	15	17
Private	10	11

The pay of the artillery and cavalry is a little more than that of the infantry.

The pay in the Chileno and Buenos Ayrean service is less than in that of Peru, where the necessaries and luxuries of life are much dearer than in the two first named republics.

The mode of provisioning the army was as follows: rations issued to the troops, during a campaign, consisted generally of meat alone; bread or spirits being very rarely served out, and then as a special favour. Occasionally Indian corn was given, which, when roasted in an earthen dish, makes an excellent substitute for bread, and it is a sort of food of which the Indians are particularly fond. When oxen were abundant, one bullock was given, for one day's rations, for every hundred men; and when, on the contrary, cattle were scarce, the same quantity was made to serve for two hundred men, which, in South America, is looked upon as short allowance. The inferior parts are not eaten, excepting in cases of extreme hunger; consequently the waste of meat is prodigious. The vicinity of an encampment presents a disgusting assemblage of bones, putrid flesh, and filth, unless great care be taken to have all burnt every day.

It sometimes happened that both royalists and patriots were reduced to feed upon the *llama*, but the flesh is coarse and almost tasteless. In a country abounding with the necessaries of life, a scarcity of provisions cannot occur, excepting through want of foresight, or proper management.

The soldiers roast, or rather toast, their meat, and often eat it without salt. Four or six club together, and cut from the same joint. In times of plenty they selected only the choice morsels, and threw the rest on one side. It was not an uncommon thing, at the commencement of the revolution, to kill oxen merely for the sake of their tongues.

In garrison or in cantonments each corps was victualled by its respective commanding officer, on account of which he was allowed to stop four dollars a month from the pay of each soldier, a sum always more than sufficient to defray the expenses of the messes. The surplus went into the regimental chest. An officer (generally a captain) was appointed by the colonel to superintend the purchasing of provisions. His accounts were audited by the major, and certified by the commanding officer, before they could be received as vouchers by the paymaster, who was always an officer of the regiment, elected by a plurality of votes of the officers, and who, with the colonel, was held responsible for any fraud or misapplication of the mess fund. Rice, vegetables, *grasa* (a sort of lard), with or without fresh meat, or *charqui* (jerked beef), boiled up together in a large copper kettle, make an excellent mess, and was what the troops principally lived upon when in Lima, or in cantonments at any place upon the coast of Peru. There was hardly any difference in the ingredients of the dish cooked for breakfast and that for dinner. The first meal was usually about 11 A.M., the latter at sunset. Each squad of twenty-five men received a kid-full, which was placed upon a high three-legged stool; the men formed a circle, and every other man alternately stepped forward to take a spoonful. Should any victuals be left, which was generally the case, it was mixed up with that to be prepared on the following day.

Some corps were well fed, and with attention to cleanliness; but the defect of the plan, in spite of many salutary regulations, consisted in leaving it too much to the caprice of the commanding officer. If he was destitute of either zeal, honesty, or ability, great embezzlement took place by those connected with the expenditure of the monthly stoppages, and the poor soldier being the eventual sufferer for every act of negligence or injustice, naturally became dissatisfied, and desertion followed.

During a hard contested warfare, it was imperative to promote officers who had signalised themselves by bravery, and frequently to intrust those with important commands who were inefficient in many respects. It often occurred that those most distinguished for intrepidity were not competent to establish discipline; and, on the other hand, that the ablest parade officers were not the most useful in a campaign. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, together with the cruel mode of recruiting the army, and the disheartening reflection, that merit was not always the only path to command, it is not surprising that failures should frequently have occurred. It is rather a matter of astonishment that the military duties should have been so generally well performed; and that so high a degree of perfection should have been attained, by the South American armies, at the glorious close of a revolution which had proceeded under such innumerable disadvantages!

CHAPTER XXII.

Mutiny at Callao.—Captain W. F. Martin, R. N.—Bolivar named dictator.—The congress dissolved.— Cruelty of the royalists.—Miller returns to Peru.—Passage.—Desperate bravery.—Captain Roberton.—Privateer Quintanilla.—Martelini.—The Congress in danger of shipwreck.—Arrives at Callao.—Position and force of the royalist and patriot forces.

The arduous service, upon the unhealthy coast, in which General Miller had been engaged, again brought on a serious attack of ague and fever. This disease was rendered worse by the breaking out of an old wound in the thigh, which occasioned violent and unceasing pain; insomuch that he was eventually compelled to seek the restoration of health in cooler latitudes, and sailed from Callao on the 24th of January, in H. M. S. Tartar. The kind hospitality and cheerful manners of Captain Brown, the assiduous attentions of every officer on board, combined with the best care of a skilful surgeon, left very few remains of indisposition upon Miller's arrival at Valparaiso on the 22d of February.

Upon reaching Santiago he once more took up his abode at the house of his old and steadfast friend Mr. Richard Price, and received anew those kind offices which commenced on Miller's first arrival in Chile. Mr. Price had since allied himself to a handsome Chilena lady; and as something has been said of the unmarried beauty of that country, it would be unjust to omit the mention of Mrs. Price as an example of all that is excellent in a wife, and affectionate in a mother. Miller had also the satisfaction to find that his early friends Doctor Cox and Mr. Barnard had been equally fortunate in their matrimonial connexions. The devotion to Hymen seemed to have been very general in this quarter, for many other Englishmen and Frenchmen had tied the indissoluble knot with the fair daughters of Chile.

The Peruvian government and General Bolivar availed themselves of the opportunity to urge, through Miller, the speedy co-operation of the Chileno forces which had been promised to be sent back to Peru, but which promise was evaded by the most provoking duplicity, and by the unworthy conduct of the then Chileno government. The lowering aspect of affairs in Peru next demands attention.

On the 7th of February, the troops stationed in the castles of Callao, headed by a mulatto serjeant, named Moyano, rose and imprisoned the governor, General Alvarado, and the officers of the garrison. The mutineers declared that they had no other object in view than to obtain their arrears of pay, and to be provided with a passage to their native countries, Chile and Buenos Ayres.

The Buenos Ayrean General Correa had an interview with the mutineers in the castles. The moderate proposals transmitted through the general were so equivocally received by the congress, and the efforts of Correa were so feebly seconded by the executive, that every attempt to adjust the matter failed. The payment of 50,000 dollars would have averted the catastrophe; but the treasury had not this sum at its disposal, and the members of government had not the patriotism to advance it, or the energy to enforce its collection by a general contribution.

Treachery towards the cause of independence never formed a part of the original plan of the conspiracy. The mutineers conducted themselves with more moderation than is usual in similar cases; but such was the want of tact in the Peruvian government and congress, that, in the end, the conspirators had no other alternative than to forego their claims, or, from motives of self-preservation, to invite the royalists to come in, and hoist the standard of Spain.

In the absence of Captain Brown, the commanding British naval officer in the Pacific, Captain William Fanshawe Martin, whose spirited and judicious conduct saved the British property from pillage, courteously offered H. M. S. Fly, as a neutral place of meeting, for the opposing parties, to adjust their differences, distinctly declining to take part with either. But congress did nothing, and the executive did worse than nothing. Instead of attempting to bring the mutineers to their duty, the president and minister of war began secretly to contrive how they should make their peace with the royalists.

For the first few days of the revolt, serious apprehensions were entertained by the merchants that their warehouses in the town of Callao would be plundered: their property was at the mercy of an infuriated soldiery, whose successful mutiny rendered them regardless of consequences. The merchants could expect little consideration at their hands. They hoisted no flag; acknowledged no government; and at that time were undetermined to what party they should adhere: so that no satisfaction could have afterwards been claimed for violence, nor compensation for losses. The leader Moyano having signified his inability to restrain his men unless he could procure a certain sum of money, the English merchants prudently advanced it.

It is to be lamented that many whose rank and influence should have been exerted to obtain the redress of grievances for the mutineers remained passive spectators. The consequence was that Colonel Casariego, a royalist prisoner of war, was released from the casemates on the 10th, and invested with the command of the fortress. Notwithstanding his assumption of power, the Spanish colours were not hoisted until the 18th, when a letter was sent to General Canterac, then in the valley of Xauxa, inviting him to take possession of the castles in the name of the king. This delay serves to prove that if the government of Lima had only possessed the slightest degree of energy, the castles might have been preserved. General Monet at the head of a royalist division entered Callao on the 3rd of March.

Captain Martin's situation was delicate and embarrassing, but he acquitted himself with great firmness and address. It was intimated to him that he would be expected to salute the Spanish flag, upon an official notification of its being hoisted; but he declined compromising his pendant, until Casariego could show that he was invested with the command, by some one of the known authorities in Peru.

Captain Martin demanded and received from the custom-house all the original papers belonging to British ships in the bay. He also obtained leave to send a party of marines on shore, for the protection of British property; a measure called for by the circumstance just alluded to, that the mutineers did not consider themselves accountable for any excesses they might commit, and their abstaining from any such is to be ascribed more to the natural moderation of the South American character than to the restraining influence of their leaders. Such, however, was the general state of alarm, that several masters of vessels, not considering their cargoes safe, slipped cable and stood out to sea, the castles firing upon them as they stole away.

Captain Martin next wrote to the governor that several British merchants having expressed a desire to embark their merchandize, he demanded, in conformity with undoubted right, permission for its removal on their paying only the usual transit duties. The request was acceded to, but difficulties were subsequently thrown in the way of its execution, as well as to the proposal of removing all the British shipping to an anchorage out of range of the castle guns. No disposition being shown to comply with this request, and as there could be no reason for detaining the shipping, except for pillage, or for the purpose of extortion, and as a considerable quantity of specie had been sent on board the Fly, previous to the mutiny, Captain Martin deemed it prudent to change his own anchorage, not only to place his freight in perfect safety, but also to warn off British vessels from entering the port. The governor strongly objected to the Fly going to the roadstead of San Lorenzo, and to her remaining there with the merchant vessels; but it was urged by Captain Martin, with so much reason and resolution that Casariego at last acquiesced. But, notwithstanding this arrangement, when the Fly got under weigh, the batteries commenced firing upon her. This was afterwards satisfactorily explained, as sufficient time had not elapsed after the receipt of the captain's official notification, of his design to change his berth, to admit of Casariego's sending the requisite order to his artillerymen. When General Rodil became governor, he requested that the Fly would re-enter with her convoy; but this invitation was not complied with.

In the meantime, the Peruvian ship Protector (formerly the Spanish frigate Prueba) arrived off Callao from Pisco, and the gallant Vice-Admiral Guise made several attacks on the shipping under the protection of the castles. On the night of the 25th of February, a dismantled frigate (the Venganza) and a brig of war were burned by a party in the boats of the Protector.

Guise proclaimed the coast between Callao and Cobija in the desert of Atacama in a state of blockade, which Captain Martin refused to acknowledge, on account of the blockading squadron being insufficient to enforce the decree.

About this period the congress named Bolivar dictator, and dissolved itself. Thus, at least, closing its political existence by an act of unquestionable wisdom. As we have more than once spoken in terms of disapprobation of some of the proceedings of congress, we cannot take leave of the subject without assigning to it the merit to which it was entitled. With the exception of several members secretly, or almost avowedly, hostile to the cause of independence, the rest were men of good intentions, and capable of legislating for the benefit of the state in more peaceful times. The decorum with which business was conducted, and the dignified eloquence of their debates, would have done honour to the British House of Commons. The names of the highly talented Luna-Pizarro, Alvarez, Otero, Olmedo, and many others, will be always held in admiration for their public spirit, consistency, and important services.

The great defect of this congress seems to have been in its assumption of a share of the executive power. This, at all times impolitic, was dangerous when an enemy was at the gate of the capital; and it became evident, that an unqualified military dictatorship could alone save the country. Congress, therefore, displayed its wisdom in abolishing a system which, preserving only the *forms* of liberty, could not prevent the exercise of tyranny.

Lima was again abandoned by the patriots on the royalists repossessing themselves of the castles of Callao.

The Liberator was at that time in the vicinity of Pativilca and Huaras, with a force which was augmented to almost six thousand Colombians, and four thousand Peruvians.

Two or three squadrons of cavalry at Cañete, and another squadron at Huacho, with its commanding officer, Navajas, passed over to the service of the royalists. This Navajas changed sides no fewer than four times during the war of independence. About the same time the president, Marquess of Torre-Tagle, the minister of war, General Count San Donas, General Portocarrero, and many officers of all grades, also passed over to the royalists *.

With one or two exceptions, these men previously passed from the royalists to the independents; and so far from their last defection being injurious to the good cause, it was of great benefit, inasmuch as it weeded the patriot service of its most worthless characters. The highest offices in the state had been most shamefully confided to several of them, without discriminating between honourable men espousing the cause of independence upon principle, and those who veered about for no other reason than their anxiety to be always on the strongest side.

The royalists, many of whom boasted of liberal and constitutional principles, elated by the recent events, were not satisfied with pouring forth the most vulgar scurrility upon their opponents, but sullied the fame which they had lately acquired from their

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* Torre-Tagle, with his beautiful, amiable, and accomplished wife and infant family, perished in want of the common necessaries of life during the subsequent investment of Callao by the patriots. San Donas expected to obtain pardon by once more deserting to the patriots, which he effected a few days previous to the surrender of the castles; but he reaped the reward of his double treachery, and suffered death by the hands of the executioner at Lima. Portocarrero hid himself in the woods of his native valley.

activity and perseverance, by acts of unjustifiable cruelty.

Monet having received possession of Callao from the mutineers, left General Rodil as governor. Monet returned to the valley of Xauxa, taking the patriot officers with him. On crossing the pass of San Mateo, two eluded the vigilance of the escort, and effected their escape. Monet, instigated by his adjutant-general, Garcia Camba, most basely ordered two officers to be shot, to atone, as he said, for their comrades' escape! As all were equally innocent of crime, the prisoners were made to draw lots, which fell upon two very distinguished officers. One of them, Captain ——— *, drew from the lining of his coat the medals with which he had been decorated for his conduct at the battles of Tucuman and Salta, in the years 1812 and 1813, and holding them up to his breast, declared that he preferred death in any shape to the horrors of a Spanish prison. The last words of both were "Viva la patria!" This atrocious, wanton, and unjustifiable act of barbarity is the more surprising, when it is considered that General Monet had always been deemed the most humane character amongst the royalist officers, and that Garcia Camba was a *liberal constitutionalist.* The Spanish colonial system sometimes made good men bad, and it always rendered bad men worse, as is fully illustrated in the above instance.

The rest of the prisoners, with others that had previously been made by the royalists, were sent to the uninhabited island called Chucuito, situated in the celebrated lake of Titicaca near Puno. By the governor of this place, Don Tadeo Garate, they were treated with great inhumanity. He once refused a pass to a mother to see her son, although she had travelled from Arequipa, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, for that purpose *. At another time, the commandant of the island-depôt had the cowardly barbarity to fire several rounds from two pieces of artillery upon the prisoners merely because, in amusing themselves, they made too loud and too mirthful a noise for his delicate ears.

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* This officer, whose name we cannot recollect, had been confined in the casemates of Callao, and was one of those exchanged and sent to Supe.

Bolivar perhaps is entitled to more credit for his conduct at the critical time which succeeded to the mutiny of Callao, than for any thing else he ever did in Peru. By his firmness, activity, and seasonable severities, he checked further defections, and obtained the respect and entire confidence of every faithful patriot. There was a charm in the name of Bolivar, and he was looked up to as the only man capable of saving the republic: he did not disappoint general expectation, for, in less than a year from that time, South American independence was finally established.

Miller was at the warm baths of Colina, in the Chileno Andes, when he heard of the occurrences in Peru. He immediately set out for Valparaiso, and embarked on the 11th of April, in the Peruvian brig of war, *El Congreso*, Captain Young.

Previous to leaving Valparaiso he felt it his duty to establish, in a small comfortable way, a valuable servant. As examples which present the bright side of human nature never fatigue the philanthropic reader, the following particulars of fidelity in domestics are given.

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* This unfortunate lady was the wife of Colonel Romero, who had rendered important assistance to Miller at Siguas, and at different places on the coast. Romero died after the termination of the war, ill requited for his services.

Juan Ortega is a Chileno, above fifty years of age, of a short sturdy figure, and open broad countenance. His manners were quiet, good tempered, and so kindly disposed, that wherever he went he became a favourite, and generally the confident of the family upon whom his master happened to be billeted. He was known by the name of Corporal Trim, which had been given him by Lord Cochrane. On board a British, as well as a patriot, ship of war Trim enjoyed unusual privileges. The officers would shake hands with, and occasionally invite him to take a glass of wine, which he drank off in as upright an attitude as would the original Corporal Trim himself. With the captain's steward, the officers' servants, and ship's company in general, Ortega was a person of no inconsiderable importance.

The unwearied attachment of this faithful follower is beyond all praise. He never left the side of his master's cot, day nor night, for six weeks, after Miller was so severely burned by the explosion of powder on the island of San Lorenzo. At other times, when he was suffering from painful wounds and sickness, the calm endurance of Corporal Trim to the peevishness of his master was as remarkable as his watchfulness; and when he was unable to speak, Trim understood him by signs, and anticipated his wishes with the utmost exactness. On the occasion of Miller being carried wounded, from Pisco, on board the Lautaro, Captain Guise appointed six seamen to attend, two at a time in turn, upon him; but Corporal Trim took upon himself to dismiss them very unceremoniously, and afterwards performed the office of nurse himself better than all the six could have done. He was his master's purse-bearer, and sometimes went so far as to frown most intelligibly if ordered to hand out money which he thought paid or given away too freely. Old soldiers who used to call upon the general had little chance of an interview or assistance if Trim thought them undeserving, or that demands of this nature became too frequent.

In 1820 Corporal Trim's mother travelled forty leagues, on a mule, to visit her son previous to his embarkation with the liberating expedition. She produced a document from the *alcalde* of Ligua, Trim's native place, certifying that Juan Ortega had volunteered to serve his country, the moment that the disastrous news of the defeat of Cancharayada reached that village. The document also certified that the conduct of Ortega had always been so exemplary, that he had "never been put in the stocks." This sort of punishment must have been pretty general, when a petty tyrant in a remote village could be brought to state, under his own hand, that to have escaped this punishment was a proof of merit. Ortega's mother presented Miller with a small carpet of her own manufacture. Upon receiving in exchange a Manchester print, she said she would have it made into a gown, which she would wear only on the anniversary of the day upon which she received it. Miller was occasionally lodged in splendid apartments, but such was Corporal Trim's filial piety, that the carpet was invariably placed, with due care, by the bedside of his master.

The sudden departure of Miller from Chile in 1824 gave Ortega no opportunity of visiting his mother. The idea of again quitting his country without embracing her, depressed his spirits. He was himself grown gray, and there was every appearance of a prolonged contest in Peru. Miller, in consequence, decided upon leaving him behind. As he parted from him to step into the boat, Ortega was completely overpowered by grief. His regrets were mingled with gratitude at being left with the means of establishing a *pulperia*, or small shop, at Valparaiso. He appeared to think himself more than compensated; but his master, equally affected at parting from so valuable a servant, thought no reward could be too great for so much fidelity. In truth, such attachment is often of greater value than the applause and sometimes heartless protestations of the great and powerful.

Captain Young having learned that some royalist privateers had been fitted out at Chiloe, and were cruising off *the Intermedios*, determined to look into every port between Copiapo and Callao. The first met with was Cobija, the only safe and frequented one of Atacama, which is a line of desert above 100 leagues in length, running north and south; its extreme breadth is about thirty leagues. This cheerless track separates Chile from Peru, and is traversed with infinite toil even by small parties, who are obliged to carry water, provisions, and forage with them; but travellers seldom take this route. A line of paved road, about two feet wide, constructed in the time of the incas, ran along the foot of the Andes; and some vestiges of it were discovered in 1823. It was by this route that Valdivia invaded Chile from Peru. The northern border of this track is thinly peopled, and is called the province of Atacama. During the war it was occasionally held either by the patriots or by the royalists of Upper Peru, but the governor was more frequently left independent, he taking special care to lean to the strongest side. Aware that his letters would be opened, Miller wrote a flourishing despatch to General Arenales, governor of Salta, informing him that the expedition from Talcahuano having succeeded in capturing Chiloe, was on its way to Puertos Intermedios; that he was sent forward to choose the point of disembarkation, and to request the co-operation of the gauchos of Salta on the side of Potosi. He added, that advices from Spain had brought information that La Serna had fallen under the displeasure of Ferdinand, and that Olañeta would probably succeed to the viceroyalty. The governor of Atacama kindly took charge of the communication, and made noisy promises of forwarding it immediately with the utmost secrecy; but it was afterwards discovered that the worthy governor broke open the despatch, and sent a copy of it to Olañeta before he parted with the original. Olañeta had long been in opposition to La Serna, and it was supposed that this pretended approval of his conduct by Ferdinand strengthened his obstinacy towards the viceroy. Arenales received the despatch in due time, and not suspecting it was written to answer a particular purpose, after keeping it secret for two days, convened the provincial junta, and confided to a select few the subject of the communication. Valdez, who had arrived in the department of Puno, also received a duplicate copy of the despatch, and was induced to suspend the march of his division against Olañeta for a few days, in order to act against the supposed equipment from Chiloe. No disembarkation having been heard of at any point, Valdez began to suspect the report was a *ruse de guerre*. He was shortly after confirmed in this opinion by the arrival of the news that General Freyre had failed in the attempt upon Chiloe.

On approaching Arica, a brig called "La Vigie," which had been taken, armed and fitted out by the captain of the Spanish privateer *Quintanilla*, was observed to be standing out of the bay, but returned to her anchorage on perceiving the Congreso. The latter stood towards her, in the expectation that she would strike without making the slightest resistance; but the captain of the Vigie brought his four small guns to bear, and after expending every shot in the locker, fired away the marline spikes, nails, and bits of old iron. The Congreso drifted to leeward, but Captain Young being unwilling to damage the hull, or to cut up the rigging of the Vigie, abstained from giving a broadside, and stood out to make a tack, in order to run alongside and carry the Vigie by boarding. It was not until the Congreso was within half-cable's length, that the captain of the Vigie ceased firing, and jumped into a boat with his crew. In rowing towards the land, they passed within half pistol-shot of the bows of the Congreso, and lay upon their oars as if to deliver themselves up; but upon perceiving the Congreso carried away by the current, they suddenly resumed their oars, and pulled away. The marines, who till this moment had been ordered not to fire, gave them a volley: the whole of the boat's crew immediately dropped, with the exception of the captain, who stood up with the greatest imaginable coolness, and skulled the boat out of musket range, when the sailors again got up and rowed ashore. The Congreso having secured her prize, sent a party to Arica, to seize the crew. A marine officer, with three men, found the captain concealed in a house, and seized him by the collar. He not only knocked down the officer, but also two of the marines, and rushed out of the house, the third marine giving him a severe bayonet wound as he passed. The officer returned on board with black eyes and a swollen face. On the following morning, it was ascertained that the captain of the Vigie passed the night under a shed in the outskirts of the town, and where it was evident he had lost a considerable quantity of blood. It is not known what became of him. He was a Scotchman, who had sustained severe losses by the patriots, and he entered the royalist service for the express purpose of avenging himself. His resolute bravery could not be surpassed. The Congreso, the Vigie, and a French brig of war, came to an anchor nearly at the same time, off Arica. The French captain demanded the Vigie, but Captain Young refused to give up a lawful capture, and referred the French commander to the

Peruvian government. During the time that some messages and notes were passing between the two commanders, the ship's company of each vessel was kept at quarters ready for action: Captain Young having very properly made up his mind to oppose force to force rather than relinquish his prize. It is a singular coincidence, that the Congreso, the Vigie, and the brig of war, should have been all three launched from the same slip, at St. Maloes in France.

Proceeding towards Quilca, the Congreso fell in with the pirate Quintanilla, and a second prize she had taken, called the Emprendadora, which was run on shore and burned by her own crew. The Quintanilla kept up a running fire during a short chase, and escaped into the *caleta*, or creek of Quilca.

Miller having gone for information to some vessels at anchor in the roadstead, and the Congreso having drifted to leeward of the *caleta*, his return was cut off by five armed launches, sent from the Quintanilla, lying in the *caleta;* but the launches, upon perceiving a boat with marines, lowered from the Congreso, relinquished the chase at a moment when the patriot party was within their grasp. Amongst those who accompanied Miller in the jolly-boat of the Congreso was Captain Roberton, a very gallant Scotchman, and an able officer, whose adventures are extremely singular. He came from England as an officer in the Galvarino, with Captain Guise. He served in the patriot squadron, and gave many proofs of intrepidity. When in command of a patriot brig of war, in 1822, he landed at the head of his marines and seamen, at Arauco, and surprised, during the night, Benavides and his party. Benavides escaped. His next in command, an Italian desperado, named Martilini, who had formerly been a boatswain in a patriot vessel, with which, heading a mutiny, he ran away from Guayaquil, was wounded by Roberton with a lance, but made his escape also. In retaliation for the atrocities of Benavides and his gang, Roberton hung all his prisoners, fifty or sixty in number.

Some time after, Roberton was permitted by the Chileno government to take possession of the uninhabited island of La Mocha, thirty leagues south of Concepcion, and became known by the name of Robinson Crusoe. He engaged a Chileno servant as his man Friday, and each took a Chilena wife, *à la main gauche*. It happened that Martilini, the Italian desperado, was subsequently put in command of the Quintanilla. Sailing from Chiloe, he landed with a party at Mocha, and took off Roberton, who was instantly put into irons, and reserved for torture. Martilini frequently threatened him with some terrible death, and accompanied his threats by blows. In a gale of wind, Roberton was released, and, on account of his superior seamanship, requested to take the command. The ship weathered the storm, and Roberton was permitted to walk the deck. He was taken to Quilca, whence he made his escape, in a neutral vessel, to Chile. He left behind a note, signifying to Martilini that, as he (Roberton) did not owe his life to the other's generosity, but to his fears, he was under no obligation; and he gave warning, that, in the event of their meeting again, one of the two must fall. Roberton took a passage from Valparaiso in the Congreso, and by a curious coincidence, the pirate driven into the *caleta*, or cove of Quilca, was the Quintanilla. When the armed launches were seen issuing from the cove, Roberton expressed his determination not to be taken alive.

The Congreso, upon her arrival, pursued the Quintanilla so close into the mouth of the *caleta*, that, upon the wind dying away in the afternoon, she was obliged to let go her anchor to leeward, at no great distance from the rocks, upon which the surf broke, with tremendous roar. During the night, an officer was sent to request assistance from a French brig of war at anchor to windward of the *caleta*. When daylight appeared, the French boats approached to within hail. The officer, with a speaking trumpet, offered to receive the people, but refused to give any assistance to the vessel, on the plea that to do so would be an infraction of neutrality.

By this time the Congreso had drifted so near to the outward wake of the breakers, that the officers and crew got into their boats, and were on the point of leaving her to her fate. Roberton was about to push off from the side, when he perceived a light air, and hopes of saving the brig darted across his mind. He jumped on board again, calling out to the seamen, that volunteers might follow. Captain Young was also instantly upon deck, followed by his ship's company. At this critical moment, the pirate launches were again seen pulling out of the creek. The only chance of escaping with life was to save the brig, because the pirates paid no respect to any flag;

and a retreat to the boats of the French vessel would have been no protection.

The cable of the Congreso was cut; but she made so little way for the first hour, that, whether she was to be dashed on the rocks by the swell, or to get out to sea, appeared to be an even chance; but the breeze freshened, and enabled them to clear the shore, and the brig stood off and on all day.

Roberton, being more than ever anxious to settle the reckoning with his Italian acquaintance, planned the cutting out of the privateer. Eleven at night was the time appointed for his adventurous supporters to hold themselves in readiness. As the bell struck the hour, Roberton's voice was heard throughout the brig, summoning to their post the boarding party, of about forty volunteers. The men came on deck with an air of steady resolution, but without any appearance of eager alacrity; for they had scarcely shaken off their drowsiness, and the elements seemed to conspire against them. The night was very dark; the sea ran high; and the wind whistled through the rigging with dreary cadence to the sullen roar of the surge upon the strand. The flitting light of lanterns rather increased, than dissipated, the gloom which overhung the commencement of this desperate undertaking. Roberton bade good bye to a younger brother, lately arrived from Scotland, and then shook hands with Miller and Captain Young, saying, as he left them, "The weather is against us; but, if we can only make the *caleta*, and if my men stick by me, we'll have the Quintanilla before daybreak:" He and his followers then stepped into the launch, but not without difficulty and danger, on account of the roughness of the sea. The launch shoved off; but the night continued so dark and windy, that Roberton was unable to find the mouth of the inlet. The launch was blown considerably to leeward, but was picked up, next day, by the Congreso, which immediately made sail to the northward.

Two days afterwards the Quintanilla left the Cove of Quilca, and, on passing near the French brig of war, anchored in the roadstead, fired three or four shots at her, by way of bravado. The weather changing to a calm, the boats of the French brig carried the privateer by boarding. Martilini was conveyed to France*.

Roberton distinguished himself in 1824 and 1825 before the castles of Callao. After they surrendered he was immured in the casemates, by order of Bolivar, for some political offence. He, however, made his escape from these horrid dungeons in an extraordinary manner. He knocked down two or three sentries he had occasion to pass; ran through the gate, in the presence of the main guard; threw himself into the sea; and swam off to a merchant vessel. He has, it seems, since returned to his island of Mocha.

On arriving, on the 11th of May, off Callao, Miller left the Congreso, which remained cruising off the bay, and went on board of her prize, the Vigie. He continued at anchor in the roads for twenty-four hours, and made an appointment to meet the royalist General Loriga on board the British frigate Tartar, to dine with Captain Brown; but an open smack from Truxillo, bringing a report that Bolivar had actually commenced his march for the interior, induced Miller not to delay his departure; and the meeting of the two friends, so much desired by both, did not take place*.

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* He again (1828) commands a Spanish privateer in the Pacific, and has made prizes on the Chileno and Peruvian coasts.

On arriving off Supe, at night, on the 14th of May, Miller was obliged to take upon himself the office of pilot, as no one else on board had seen that part of the coast before. He committed some mistake in making the land, and the vessel was brought up where, if the anchor had been dropped, she must have gone ashore in a surf, which nothing could have withstood. Fortunately the error was discovered in time. He did not recollect much about the headlands; but feeling very anxious to get ashore, and having only a very young midshipman, with eight or ten indifferent sailors, the Vigie was steered at dusk towards a small bay, which fortunately turned out to be the port of Supe. The night was beautifully clear, and the stars twinkled with unusual brilliancy. At eleven P.M. the Vigie was brought to an anchor under the lee of some high land, and just without the broad line of surf, which breaks upon the strand with ceaseless foam. The holding ground proved very bad, and the anchor drove, upon which a second was let go. A suspicious-looking schooner was then discovered lying within a cable's length from the Vigie. She was hailed; but, although a light had been seen on board, no answer was returned, and some apprehensions arose that the stranger might prove a royalist vessel of war, sent from Callao to intercept the Vigie. Miller seized the speaking trumpet, hailed them in English and in Spanish, and threatened that a broadside would be fired from the Peruvian brig of war Congreso, unless an immediate answer was given. The cry of *Viva la Patria* was then heard, and a boat was immediately sent from the Vigie. Two fishermen were found on board the schooner, which had arrived with some fugitive patriot soldiers from the Puertos Intermedios. The fishermen had been sent on board, by the patriot governor of the province, to take charge of the vessel. They could not state positively which party held possession of the town of Supe, although they were certain that the landing-place was clear of royalists. Miller immediately stepped into a canoe, but did not get on shore without being thoroughly wet by the surf. He walked to Supe, two leagues distant, and found the town nearly deserted. He, however, procured horses from a montonero party, which, on the preceding morning, had had an affair with the royalist advanced post, and on the next day he set out to join Bolivar.

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* General Loriga, who had served the cause of the king with great talent and fidelity, sailed shortly afterwards to his native country. He now holds an important command in the Havannah.

At the picturesque village of Marca, two days' march from Supe, commences an ascent of two leagues, that terminates at the apex of a lofty mountain, which, on a clear day, is visible to the mariner fifty leagues from land. From this aerial platform, one of the noblest and most enchanting prospects in the world bursts suddenly upon the eye. Towards the coast lies a frightful waste, a lifeless breadth of barrenness, a sea of sandy billows, bounded by the Pacific Ocean. Looking to the eastward, the Andes rear their summits to the clouds, and form a barrier of unparalleled grandeur. A basin, of one hundred miles in circumference, appears to be scooped out amidst the highest Andes, and, containing mountains within its hollow, is bounded by ridges, which, rising in endless succession, are streaked with midway clouds, and the most distant mantled with snows coeval with the creation of the world. Standing on the mountain cupola of Marca, the village of Requay appears to be immediately beneath the feet of the wondering traveller, although from the tortuous descent it is at a distance of more than four leagues. To the north of Requay stretches the romantic vale of Huaras, where numerous hamlets enliven the mountain hollows, while single houses at every elevation stud the ravines, and contrast their whiteness with the luxuriant foliage which half conceals them. The happy valley imagined by Doctor Johnson may be called a miniature sketch of this unequalled panorama, and from which it might be thought the Abyssinian prince would scarcely have wished to roam, were it not that, on approaching the dwellings, that look so beautiful at a distance, the traveller is disgusted with their filth and wretchedness. It is only the daring pencil which pictured Belshazzar's Feast, the Fall of Nineveh, and the Deluge, that could, with commensurate grandeur and fidelity, transfer to canvas such a scene as this. Placed on that majestic eminence, a Martin would acknowledge, that even his own lofty conceptions fell far short of the towering sublimity and incomparable beauty which nature has here combined.

On the 19th of May, Miller reached the head quarters of General Bolivar at Huaras, in the vicinity of which place the liberating army had begun to concentrate from its cantonments of Caxamarca, Guamachuco, and Caxatambo, in order to commence offensive operations. Its number of effective men did not fall short of ten thousand.

The distribution of the royalist army was as follows:

About nine thousand men with Canterac in the valley of Xauxa; about five thousand with Valdez; and about five thousand with Olañeta. The two latter generals were in Upper Peru; but the Spaniards considered the forces under Canterac to be more than a match for Bolivar, and consequently thought the aid of the Army of the South might be dispensed with.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Montoneros.—Measures preparatory to the campaign of 1824.—Liberating army advance from Huaras.—Passage of the Cordilleras.—Salutary measures of the Dictator.

General Miller, upon his arrival at Huaras, had the satisfaction of seeing General Bolivar for the first time, and on the following day was named *commandante-general* of the Peruvian cavalry.

The beautiful, extensive, and thickly peopled valley of Huaras had become the scene of active preparations for the ensuing campaign, which was expected to commence, by the march of the army, in about six weeks.

In the meanwhile, Miller was ordered to cross the Andes; and, on the 13th of June, he set out to take the command of fifteen hundred montoneros occupying the country round Pasco.

The road, of continuous ascent and descent, was through a part of the country which abounds in scenery of inconceivable boldness and magnificence. Straggling habitations were frequently seen perched on elevations, or sequestered in the recesses of ravines, and added greatly to the beauty of the landscape; but ignorance, poverty, filth, and apparent wretchedness, were the lot of the Indian cottagers. To these may be added, the despotism of the priest, who is usually the only person, in rather extensive villages, who can read and write. He has not at all times the inclination, but he has always the power, to lord it over his parishioners with the authority of a Turkish bashaw. On the sixth day of a most fatiguing journey, Miller arrived at Huánuco, a pleasant town, occupying half a league square of ground, and containing about four thousand inhabitants. The streets are rectilinear, and each house has a garden, in which are grown pine apples and other tropical fruits in abundance. The climate is agreeable. Miller remained three days at Huánuco, where he inspected two squadrons of Peruvian cavalry in quarters there. On the fourth morning he set out for Pasco, which was held by the patriot montoneros.

The montoneros in Peru, like the guerrillas in the Peninsular war, were of incalculable service as an auxiliary force. They were principally composed of men of some respectability, whose habitations had been razed by the unrelenting vindictiveness of the royal party, which had often turned into wildernesses spots where towns and villages formerly stood. Every montonero had to avenge parents, children, relatives, or neighbours, who had been butchered by the Spaniards. To the above class of once substantial yeomen were added many idle and profligate characters, which are always to be met with in turbulent times. The montoneros were cruel and unrelenting towards their foes; but, although they served without pay, they generally conducted themselves well towards the unoffending inhabitants: from this praise, however, must be excepted those parties which were formed principally from the dregs of the populace of Lima. But even the latter frequently behaved with more forbearance than might have been expected from men of their previous habits; and their lighter irregularities were counterbalanced by the important services they rendered.

In the year 1821, the town of Reyes contained a population of four thousand souls. It was pillaged and burnt by the Spaniards, and many of the inhabitants cruelly put to death. Three hundred men survived, to avenge the fate of their slaughtered families: they formed themselves into montonero parties, and performed prodigies of valour against the royalists, neither giving nor taking quarter. When overpowered by the enemy, they were accustomed to flee to some small islands, which they kept provisioned for the purpose, upon the lake near which Reyes was situated. This magnificent lake, one of the sources of the river of the Amazons, thirty leagues in circumference, is skirted by a broad border of morass, through which the montoneros could penetrate by devious tracks, winding amongst quagmires, and known only to themselves. At every favourable opportunity they would sally forth from their islet fastnesses; and, vanquishers or vanquished, they always inflicted tremendous losses on their enemies. Torrents of blood were shed in this exterminating system of warfare.

Miller having at various periods had the command of montoneros, had become personally known to many of them. They hailed his new appointment with rejoicings. These guerrillas were divided into parties of from fifty to a hundred men each. Of all these parties, that composed of the yeomanry of Reyes was the most daring and efficient. After remaining two days at Pasco, the pivot of the guerrilla operations, Miller rode to Reyes. The montoneros of that place, as well as those of Ninicaca and Carhuamayo, anxious to pay their new leader a compliment, had assembled to receive him. They were drawn up in line, and their appearance was most grotesque. Some mounted on mules, others on horses, some wearing bearskin caps, others helmets, others chacos, and many with broad-brimmed *vicuña* beaver hats. Some wore feathers, but this finery was not general. Their garments were not less diversified. Hussar jackets, infantry coats, and scarlet pelisses stripped from slain royalists, were mingled with patriot uniforms. Their lower garments consisted of Mamaluke trousers, light overalls, or knee breeches. Some had boots, others sandals, and many were barefoot. But in one particular there was uniformity. Every man had a poncho, which he either wore in the usual manner, or tied round the waist like a sash, or dangling fantastically from the shoulder. Neither was there one amongst them without his lasso. Their arms were not less multiform than their clothing. Muskets, carbines, pistols, swords, bayonets, sabres, long knives, and lances or pikes, were the weapons with which chance had furnished them; but in such hands they were wielded in battle with tremendous effect. The commander, Captain* ———, had been elevated on account of his superior prowess. He was armed with a pistol, a carbine, and a long straight sword, taken from a Spanish colonel whom he had killed in single combat. He wore a gaudy trumpeter's jacket and an officer's pouch-box. As Miller approached, the captain advanced to meet and welcome him with a flourish of his Toledo. Miller then rode along the front of the line, and, after passing the last file, was surprised to hear a whizzing *feu de joie* from such of the men as had fire-arms; for, having no blank cartridges, they did not scruple to waste balls and bullets in this irregular salute.

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* When Miller became prefect of Puno he sent many papers and documents to an English friend at Arequipa to forward to England; but as they have never been received, the names of persons and places have been occasionally forgotten.

On the following day, Miller took an escort from the Reyes montoneros, and rode forward, intending to reconnoitre the Spanish advanced post, four leagues in front on the Tarma road; but finding himself at nightfall still a mile from the royalist videttes, he took up his quarters in a hut situated on a hill at the entrance of Cacas. Thinking it important to impress upon his new followers, that he was as much at ease close to the enemy as at a distance, Miller took off his coat, and lay down to sleep, leaving the guerrilla captain to take the necessary precautions in his own way. Miller, however, took care to keep his own orderly on the alert with saddled horses. He had not dozed above an hour, when the montonero chief, shaking Miller by the shoulder, said, it had just occurred to him that on that very day a year before he had been surprised near the same spot; and that, as a scout who had been sent down the hill had not returned, prudence dictated that they should remove to the plain in their rear. In the morning it was ascertained that a royalist party had approached, during the night, within a short distance of Reyes, which place was occupied by the montoneros who were left there. The royalist party must have passed very close to the reconnoitring patriots at Cacas. Soon after daybreak, Miller rode to within a short distance of the Spanish advanced posts; and having reconnoitred the adjoining country, he retired, having accomplished the object of the movement in that direction. The guerrilla captain, previous to withdrawing, insisted upon firing a few long shots at the enemy, as he said he made it a rule never to see a *Godo* without pulling a trigger.

Passing one more night at Reyes, in the only house that had a roof, Miller proceeded towards Yaule, leaving the circular line of Spanish outposts (placed in front and round Tarma) on his left; and, after a ride of six leagues, he arrived, towards midnight, at the ruined village of ———, on the left bank of the Rio Grande. This river was not fordable, and the royalists had destroyed the lasso bridge; but a few montoneros had had prior orders to fasten a rope from one steep bank to the other, which was drawn tight, and to which was fastened a sort of sliding seat made of cords. To this was then tied a strong suspending noose, and by this fragile conveyance, Miller and his escort were drawn over one by one. As a royalist outpost was stationed on a hill, at no great distance from the river, the montoneros considered the operation rather hazardous, and assured Miller that he was the first officer in a cocked hat who had ventured to cross in that way. These incidents may be deemed too trivial to deserve to be recorded; but as Miller always received unflinching support from the montoneros in the most perilous enterprises, it is thought advisable to describe the measures he adopted; which show not only the nature of the service, but also the manner in which he obtained the confidence of these uncouth mountain warriors.

On the following day Miller continued his march to Yaule, five leagues in a circular line to his left. On the way he passed Pachachaca, a village over which the stately condors were seen to hover, and the household dogs still to keep watch round the dismantled huts once occupied by their murdered masters. Amongst the ruins, a brick chimney attracted Miller's attention. His eyes were instantly riveted upon it, and the first idea that rushed upon his mind was, that an Englishman must have resided in that picturesque hamlet. A thousand fireside associations, a thousand kindling emotions, were naturally awakened. In the midst of Andean solitudes, he fancied himself for a moment almost at home. Upon inquiry, he was told it had been built by Don Guillermo Bevan, an Englishman, and a good patriot. It was not long before Mr. Bevan made his appearance upon one of the adjoining heights. No letter of introduction was necessary to make the two countrymen acquainted. Bevan embraced Miller with tears of joy. It appears that he had been a respectable Cornish miner, and, with others, had gone out to Peru in the employment of Don Pedro Abadía, an eminent Spanish merchant of Lima. The Cornish party constructed a furnace for smelting ore at Pachachaca, by which means great quantities of excellent lead, formerly lost, was obtained. The establishment continued in a very flourishing state until that part of the country became the theatre of war. In consequence of the attendant devastations, all the Englishmen retired to Lima, with the exception of Bevan, who determined to remain; but having indiscreetly declared himself a friend to the patriots, his hut was repeatedly unroofed, and the doors burned by successive royalist marauders. What he seemed most to regret was the wanton destruction of an extensive and curious collection of birds and quadrupeds, which he had taken infinite pains to stuff and preserve in cases, intending to transmit them to England. He at last took shelter in the higher mountains, and lived there as he could. He was an intelligent and industrious character, and he was subsequently of great assistance to Miller, who soon had the satisfaction of doing him a trifling service. A government mine near Yaule was put up to auction. Bevan became the renter, and was furnished with the means of carrying on the works. Miller also procured for him a partner possessing capital, Captain Sanchez, one of the principal miners of Pasco. The speculation turned out well, and Bevan was realizing his most sanguine expectations, but unfortunately died, two years after, when fortune had begun to throw her encouraging gleams over his often blighted prospects.

As Don Pedro Abadía has been mentioned, we may be permitted to digress for a short time from the narrative. The compiler of these pages was, in 1825, entertained by him in the island of Puerto Rico; how hospitably, or how kindly, need not be related, as Abadía acknowledged that he owed his life to General Miller, who happened to be president of a military tribunal before which he was arraigned, and it was generally expected, in Lima, that he would have been sentenced to death, which would have been followed by the confiscation of his property. Abadía was, however, honourably acquitted. But this is not the object of the digression. One of the phases of Abadía's fortune discovers a bright trait of human virtue which ought not to be lost sight of. He was once a man of boundless wealth. At that time he purchased a fine estate in the island of Puerto Rico, with an intention of giving it to a nephew. He placed a steward there, and, occupied by more important pursuits, he almost forgot his West Indian property. Several years elapsed, and civil wars cut off his resources; he was robbed by villanous confidents; his life was placed in jeopardy; he was obliged to fly from Peru, and the estate in Puerto Rico was almost the only remnant of his former riches. To that island he bent his steps, uncertain of the value of his property there or even of his own reception. But when misfortune lowered on every other side, he found relief where he had hardly dared to look for it. His steward, an honourable Frenchman, hailed his master with the warmth which conscious integrity inspires, and soon rendered, unasked-for, a faithful account of income and expenditure during his long stewardship, the result of which placed a handsome balance at the disposal of Abadía. That grateful master, returning the books, exclaimed, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant! hence-forth we are partners in this property; half of this estate is yours." The writer of this had the singular pleasure of sitting at table with these rare specimens of fidelity and gratitude. Abadía is now living at Antwerp, in very straitened circumstances.

The montoneros almost encircled the royalist army under Canterac, then in cantonments in the valley of Xauxa, so as to enable Miller not only to reconnoitre the country sixty leagues in advance of the liberating army, but also to cover its operations preparatory to crossing the Andes. By these means the royalists were kept continually on the alert. Miller was often closely pursued, but he invariably succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the enemy, though not always without experiencing some loss. By persevering in this system of warfare, he effectually protected the mining district of Pasco. The mines were kept continually at work, although the advanced posts of the enemy were within sixteen leagues. The royalists occasionally approached much nearer; but it was not often that they ventured to advance beyond the lake of Reyes, lest their parties might be cut off by the montoneros issuing from their island, or numerous mountain, holds. If the royalists continued inactive for a time, the patriot parties would advance to some point, to induce the royalists to send a superior force to rid themselves of the annoyance. The montoneros then dispersed, but before their pursuers could regain the main body, the pursued would re-form, and, turning round upon the enemy, would cut off a number of stragglers. The communication between the Spanish stations was often interrupted, and they were most fatally harassed without being able to come to close quarters with their tormentors.

The distance from Huaras to Pasco is more than fifty leagues of mountain passes. Reyes is fourteen leagues farther in advance. The last two places, as well as the intervening country, are totally destitute of wood. *Champas*, or peat, was cut as a substitute; but instead of being piled up in stacks, it was scattered over the country to dry, so that if the royalists attempted to burn it, the destruction would be a work of time and difficulty. The champas are not fit for fuel until they have been cut fifteen days.

Provisions and forage were secreted in mountain caverns formed by the galleries of exhausted mines. Some of these depôts were established within the line of country nominally held by the royalists. That near Pachia, and on the same bank of the Rio Grande, was only eight leagues from Tarma. The entrance of the cave was in the perpendicular side of a cliff fifty or sixty feet from the ground, and as many from the top. The only way to get up was by the assistance of a rope fixed in the cave, and by notches cut in the rock to give foot-hold. Indian corn, salt, charqui (jerked beef), potatoes, and barley, were hoisted up by means of the rope. A few men were sufficient to defend these cavern-depôts against any numbers. It often happened that when the montoneros retired, the depôts were left exposed; but the royalists were not always aware of the exact situation, and entertained no suspicion that supplies had been accumulated in that way to any considerable extent.

The liberating army, commanded by Bolivar in person, after having concentrated in the vicinity of Huaras, advanced towards Pasco in the month of July, 1824. It was tolerably well clothed and armed, and was formed into three divisions of infantry. Two of these, being Colombian troops, were commanded by Generals Lara and Cordova. The third, Peruvian, by General La Mar. The cavalry of Peru by General Miller, that of Colombia by Colonel Caravajal, the granaderos à caballo of Buenos Ayres by Colonel Bruiz. General Necochea, as the senior officer, commanded the united cavalry forces. Each division had its chief of the staff. General Sucre was chief of the staff of the whole army, and Dr. Sanchez Carrion, as minister general for the affairs of Peru, accompanied the Dictator.

Each division had its field depôt of small-arm ammunition. The grand reserve depôt of the army was conveyed by three hundred mules. The commissariat had its depôt of rice, tobacco, salt, and cocoa, which articles were only occasionally issued. To each depôt was attached a number of spare mules to replace those that strayed, or became unserviceable.

Previous to the commencement of the campaign, Sucre displayed the greatest skill and judgment in his preparatory dispositions to facilitate the passage of the army to Pasco; a distance not far short of two hundred leagues from Caxamarca, over the most rugged districts, of the most mountainous country in the world, presenting at every step difficulties which in Europe would be considered perfectly insurmountable. It was on these terrible marches that the inherent subordination of the South American soldiery was fully and signally displayed. No hardships or privations can diminish their respect for their officers; and the few instances which occurred of manifest discontent, at Callao, &c. originated in a suspicion of treachery or cowardice, or in the experience of unprincipled treatment relative to pay.

Although the Peruvian government had expended enormous sums in the army department, such was the mismanagement and want of system that, until 1824, the soldiers were generally irregularly paid. There was no sufficient check, no real responsibility attaching to any one. The small pittance they did actually receive from time to time depended more upon the personal character of the commanding officer than upon adherence to any fixed regulations.

To remedy this abuse, Bolivar ordered that the paymasters should pay the men personally, that is to say, actually *put into the hands of the soldier* once a week, the net pay due to such soldier; and that this should be done in the presence of the general of division, and commanding officer of the regiment. The full pay of a soldier was ten dollars per month. Four dollars were deducted on account of rations, and two dollars on account of clothing, &c., so that he was entitled to receive one dollar weekly. So scarce, however, was money in the military chest in 1824, that the soldier was paid only half a dollar per week; but as he regularly received that sum, he became better satisfied with the punctuality of reduced allowance, than with the previous uncertainty and chicanery of nominal full pay.

The officers were placed upon one-fourth of their pay; and the subaltern found it very difficult to subsist upon such scanty means. He was reduced to the necessity of living upon his rations: the eight or ten dollars he received monthly were barely sufficient for the purchase of his cigars, and such articles of wearing apparel as were absolutely indispensable.

The expenditure of the army was therefore greatly diminished; and, at the same time, the soldiers, instead of murmuring, on account of part of their pay being withheld, became happy and contented. It also gave an effective lesson to many officers who had previously been too inattentive to the welfare of their brave soldiers.

The many excellent regulations enforced by the Dictator produced also the additional benefit of weeding the liberating army of many officers, who felt as much disinclination to conform to severe discipline, as they did to cross the Andes, for the purpose of assisting to carry on the war in earnest. Under various pretexts they remained behind, or quitted on the march. Some of these worthies obtained commands in the provinces, where they issued bombastic proclamations, in which they spoke of shedding the last drop of their blood, and threatened the royalists with vengeance in terms truly ridiculous; yet several of these noisy and bustling gentlemen were actually promoted *in consequence of the battle of Ayacucho*, before others who took a conspicuous part in the action.

The labour of rendering roads, or rather tracks, passable over such abrupt ridges, and along such tremendous precipices, can only be estimated by those who have traversed the more than majestic Andes. The erection of sheds at intervals in the long, barren, and uninhabited tracts of country, with the collection and transport of the materials for their construction, besides wood for fuel, and the formation of magazines of barley and Indian corn for the cavalry, required the exertion of all Sucre's talent and activity.

The divisions of the liberating army crossed the Cordillera generally at the intervening distance of one day's march from each other. But the cavalry, and indeed many of the battalions, often diverged from the general line of march. The shelving ledges, which afforded the only foot-hold on the rugged sides of the Andes, are so narrow, as to render the passage indescribably harassing. The troops could advance only one by one. The single file was sometimes lengthened out to an amazing extent by the *mal pasos* formed by deep gullies or breaks in the tracks; by projecting rocks; or by numerous waterfalls; all of which required great caution, and much time to pass in safety. To the cavalry, such obstructions were particularly formidable, as each man had, besides the mule on which he rode, a led horse, to be mounted only in sight of the enemy. The agility and dexterity, with which they managed to drag their animals after them, were astonishing. The *lasso* was used, as upon every other occasion, with great adroitness. Fastened round the neck of the led horse, it was lengthened or shortened as the tortuous windings of the ascent or descent required. The men were frequently obliged to dismount at the *mal pasos*, and on such occasions their sabres and lances added greatly to their embarrassments.

It often occurred during the campaign of 1824, that the cavalry being in the rear, were, by a succession of various obstructions, prevented from accomplishing the day's march before nightfall. It then became necessary for every man to dismount, and to lead the two animals in his charge, to avoid going astray, or tumbling headlong down frightful precipices. But the utmost precaution did not always prevent corps from losing their way. Sometimes men, at the head of a battalion, would continue to follow the windings of a deafening torrent, instead of turning abruptly to the right or left, up some rocky acclivity, over which lay their true course; whilst others, who chanced to be right, would pursue the proper track. The line was so drawn out, that there were unavoidably many intervals, and it was easy for such mistakes to occur, although trumpeters were placed at regular distances, expressly to prevent separation. One party was frequently heard hallooing from an apparently fathomless ravine, to their comrades passing over some high projecting summit, to know if they were going right. These would answer with their trumpets; but it often occurred that both parties had lost their road. The frequent sound of trumpets along the broken line; the shouting of officers to their men at a distance; the neighing of horses, and the braying of mules, both men and animals being alike anxious to reach a place of rest, produced a strange and fearful concert, echoed, in the darkness of the night, from the horrid solitudes of the Andes. After many fruitless attempts to discover the proper route, a halt until daybreak was usually the last resource. The sufferings of the men and animals on those occasions were extreme. The thermometer was generally below the freezing point, added to which they were sometimes overtaken by terrific snow storms.

These difficulties and hardships were not so severely felt by the infantry, for, unincumbered with the charge of horses, it was an easy matter for them when they mistook their road, to face about; whereas it was often impossible for the cavalry to do so, the path on the mountain side being generally too narrow to admit of horses turning round. It happened more than once, that the squadron in front, having ascertained that it had taken a wrong direction, was nevertheless compelled to advance until it reached some open spot, where the men were enabled to assemble, wait for the hindmost of their comrades, and then retrace their steps. In effecting this, the troops have sometimes met another squadron following the same track; and, under such circumstances, it has required hours for either to effect a countermarch. In this complicated operation many an animal was hurled down the precipice and dashed to pieces, nor did their riders always escape a similar fate.

The sheds erected at the *pascanas*, or halting places, in the vast unpeopled tracks of the bleak mountain districts, and on the table-lands, were inadequate to afford shelter to more than a small number; so that the greater part of the troops were obliged to bivouac sometimes in places where the thermometer falls *every night* considerably below the freezing point, and this *throughout the year*, whereas it often rises at noon, in the same place, to 90°. It may be readily imagined what must have been the sufferings of men, born in, or accustomed to, the sultry temperature of Truxillo, Guayaquil, Panama, or Cartagena. The difficulty of respiration, called in some places *la puna*, and in others *el soroche*, experienced in those parts of the Andes which most abound in metals, was so great at times, that, whilst on the march, whole battalions would sink down as if by magic, and it would have been inflicting death to have attempted to oblige them to proceed until they had rested and recovered themselves. In many cases life was solely preserved by opening the temporal artery. This sudden difficulty of respiration is supposed to be caused by occasional exhalations of metaliferous vapour, which, being inhaled, causes a strong feeling of suffocation.

The little care taken of the horses having proved, on previons occasions, a severē drawback upon the successes of the patriots, the Dictator determined to remedy the evil, and, accordingly, previous to the breaking up from cantonments, issued strong orders, making commanding officers of cavalry regiments responsible for the slightest inattention, and enforced those orders by the dismissal or suspension of several chiefs for neglect of duty or want of zeal. Such examples produced a salutary effect, and Bolivar established a branch of discipline before unobserved in the patriot service.

Each horseman was armed with a sword, a lance, and sometimes with a carbine, or a brace of pistols; but such was the scarcity of iron, that most of their fire-arms had been converted into nails and horseshoes in the course of the campaign. The horses were shod on all fours (not commonly done in South

America), and were kept well clothed in blankets, during the nights passed in the Cordillera, by which means they effected the passage without serious loss. In fact, they were found scarcely inferior to the horses of the Spanish cavalry, which had been, for more than a year, fed upon the lucern and Indian corn in the rich valley of Xauxa, with all the care bestowed upon the best horses in England. Most of them were of the Chileno breed, and had been taken by the royalists in the victories they had gained; few were worth less than a hundred and fifty Spanish dollars each in Peru, and many were more valuable. A great number of horses are annually sent from Chile to Peru.

The patriot cavalry was composed of perhaps the best horsemen in the world. The *gauchos* of the Pampas, the *guasos* of Chile, and the *llaneros* of Colombia are all accustomed to ride from early childhood; and such is their habitual command over their horses, and such their dexterity, that a description of their equestrian feats would not meet with ready belief. The *gaucho* who could not pick up a dollar from the ground at full gallop would be considered an indifferent horseman. The way they do this, is to stick one spur into the padding of the saddle, and throw themselves (rather forward) down on the opposite side; after having picked up the dollar, they recover their seat with the grace and agility of a rope-dancer. They often guide their horses without using the reins, and if one should fall, even when at full speed, such is the position of the rider, that he comes down on his feet, and seldom sustains the slightest injury. The Peruvians on the coast, and on the mountain plain, are scarcely less skilful. It is surprising to see them gallop down steep rugged hills with as much nonchalance and apparent ease as if they were cantering upon a race-course.. The *llaneros*, born in the plains of Colombia, are perhaps not less skilful in the management of the horse, but they are not such graceful riders as the *gauchos* of Buenos Ayres or the *guasos* of Chile. The *llanero* seldom holds himself erect; indeed he considers it the height of perfection, in riding, to sit on one side, or in a lolling attitude.

The manner in which the liberating army was provisioned in the campaign of 1824 was this: about six thousand head of horned cattle, collected from Caxamarca and adjoining provinces, followed the army at the distance of two or three days' march, in charge of a commissary, who supplied the division whenever provisions could not be procured where they halted.

The cattle required for an army during a campaign was generally taken from large grazing estates, according to the means of each. Receipts were given to the proprietors, but, during the war, they were very irregularly paid, if at all. Very little ceremony was observed in taking cattle found upon estates which had been abandoned by the owners, who emigrated with the royalists to serve in a civil or military capacity. It frequently occurred that wealthy patriots came forward with one or two hundred head of cattle as a donation; so that, in general, the difficulty of procuring provisions was not great in proportion to other obstacles.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Position of the royalist forces.—The patriots reviewed.—Proclamation.—Scenery near Pasco.—Affair of Junin.—Death of Lieutenant-Colonel Sowersby—of Major Lisarraga.—Retreat of Canterac.—Advance of the patriots.—General Bolivar quits the army.—Reconnoitring parties.—The viceroy advances.—Colonel Althaus taken prisoner.—Patriots fall back.—Valley of Pomacochas.

Misled by the facility with which they conquered at Ica, Torata, Moquegua, and on the Desaguadero, the royalist chiefs erroneously attributed their successes solely to consummate skill on their own part; and, undervaluing the capabilities of the liberating army, they not only neglected assembling the whole of their disposable forces in the north, but unwisely detached the troops under Valdez to Potosi, to act against Olañeta; whose hostility to the viceroy became every day more rancorous. Canterac considered himself quite adequate to repel every attack from the patriots; nor indeed was this opinion formed upon slight grounds. His army was efficient in every respect. It was in the highest state of discipline, and went through every evolution with admirable accuracy. Its equipments were superior and complete; the artillery and cavalry particularly well appointed: and the whole of the troops were paid with the greatest regularity.

It appears inexplicable how Canterac could remain inactive in his cantonments of Xauxa, whilst the patriot commissaries, protected only by the montoneros, were spread over an immense extent of country, and constantly employed in collecting provisions, forage, and fuel. Why Canterac did not prevent the formation of these depôts on the eastern side of the Andes, and why he afterwards allowed the patriot army to pass unmolested through the horrible defiles of the mountains, is not easily accounted for, unless it be ascribed to self-confidence, and a wrong estimate of the strength of his enemy. In the opinion of the royalists, Bolivar was far inferior in military skill to San Martin. The advanced post of the Spaniards was at Cacas, a village three leagues from Reyes.

On the 2d of August, Bolivar reviewed his forces, nine thousand strong, on the plain between Rancas and Pasco. The troops were well appointed, and made a really brilliant appearance. The following energetic address, from the Liberator, was read to each corps at the same moment, and produced indescribable enthusiasm.

"Soldiers!

"You are about to finish the greatest undertaking Heaven has confided to men—that of saving an entire world from slavery.

"Soldiers!—The enemies you have to overthrow boast of fourteen years of triumphs; they are therefore worthy to measure their swords with ours, which have glittered in a thousand combats.

"Soldiers!—Peru and America expect from you Peace, the daughter of Victory. Even liberal Europe beholds you with delight, because the freedom of the new world is the hope of the universe. Will you disappoint it? No! No! No! you are invincible.

(Signed) "BOLIVAR."

Nothing could exceed the excitement felt upon this occasion. Every circumstance tended to impart a most romantic interest to the scene. Near the same spot, four years before, the royalists had been defeated by General Arenales. The view from the table-land, upon which the troops were reviewed, and which is at an elevation of more than twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, is one of the most magnificent in the world. On the west arose the Andes, which had been just surmounted with so much toil. On the east were enormous ramifications of the Cordillera stretching towards the Brazils. North and south, the view was bounded by mountains whose tops were hidden in the clouds. On that plain, surrounded by such sublime scenery, and on the margin of the magnificent lake of Reyes, the principal source of the Amazon, the mightiest of rivers, were now assembled men from Caracas, Panama, Quito, Lima, Chile, and Buenos Ayres; men who had fought at Maypo in Chile; at San Lorenzo on the banks of the Parana; at Carabobo in Venezuela; and at Pinchincha at the foot of the Chimborazo. Amidst those devoted Americans were a few foreigners, still firm and faithful to the cause, in support of which so many of their countrymen had fallen. Amongst those few survivors were men who had fought on the banks of the Guadiana, and of the Rhine; who had witnessed the conflagration of Moscow, and the capitulation of Paris. Such were the men assembled at, what might be considered, a fresh starting point in the career of glory. American or European, they were all animated by one sole spirit, that of assuring the political existence of a vast continent, and to ascertain whether or not the period had arrived when the influence of South America upon the rest of the world, should be rendered commensurate with its extent, its riches, and its situation. The exhilirating *vivas* of the troops filled every breast with ardour and prophetic hope.

Awakening at length from his slumber, Canterac determined to attack the patriot army, which it would appear he hoped to effect in detail, by falling upon the several divisions, as they debouched in succession upon the table-land. With this view he united his forces at Xauxa, and marched on the 1st of August for Reyes, where he arrived on the evening of the 4th.

On the 3d, seven hundred montoneros, from the western side of the Andes, were added to those under the command of Miller. On the 4th, he was with some of his parties at the Oroya, a few leagues west of Xauxa. He despatched reports to Bolivar, advising his excellency of Canterac's advance. Upon learning the movements of the royalists, the Dictator quickened his march from Rancas, along the western bank of the great lake, to Conacancha, where Miller met the liberating army on the night of the 5th, and was ordered to place himself at the head of the Peruvian cavalry.

On the morning of the 5th, Canterac had advanced to Carhuamayo, and pushed on with his cavalry to Pasco. Instead of meeting with an isolated division on those great plains, as he probably expected, he learned that the liberating army was in full march on the opposite side of the great lake. Canterac fell back that night upon his infantry. On the 6th, he continued his retreat, whilst the independents pursued their march along the southern extremity of the lake, in order to intercept the royalists. After a march of five leagues, through a mountainous district, at 2 P.M., the patriots, from the elevated ground, obtained a sudden view of the enemy, who, at the distance of two leagues, was marching over the plains of Junin, a little to the southward of Reyes. An enthusiastic and simultaneous *viva* was heard throughout the line. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the effect which the sudden appearance of the enemy produced. The countenances of the patriots were animated with a wild ferocious expression, and they gazed with eyes full of fire upon the hostile columns, moving majestically beneath their feet. The predominant feeling was a fear that the royalists would escape. The cavalry, in particular, quivered with impatience. They always considered themselves superior to the royalist cavalry; the opportunity for proving it had now arrived, for the nature of the ground below ensured their taking an active part in the impending fight. It was the work of a moment to remove the saddle from the mules, on which they rode, to their led horses.

At 4 P.M., nine hundred of the patriot cavalry, having left the infantry, with two squadrons, a league in the rear, came up to within a short distance of the whole royalist forces, consisting of eight thousand infantry, twelve hundred cavalry, and a proportion of field artillery. Canterac, finding his further retreat in danger, put himself at the head of his cavalry, formed them in line, with a squadron in column in the immediate rear of each flank, and ordered a charge. The royalist infantry continued their retreat.

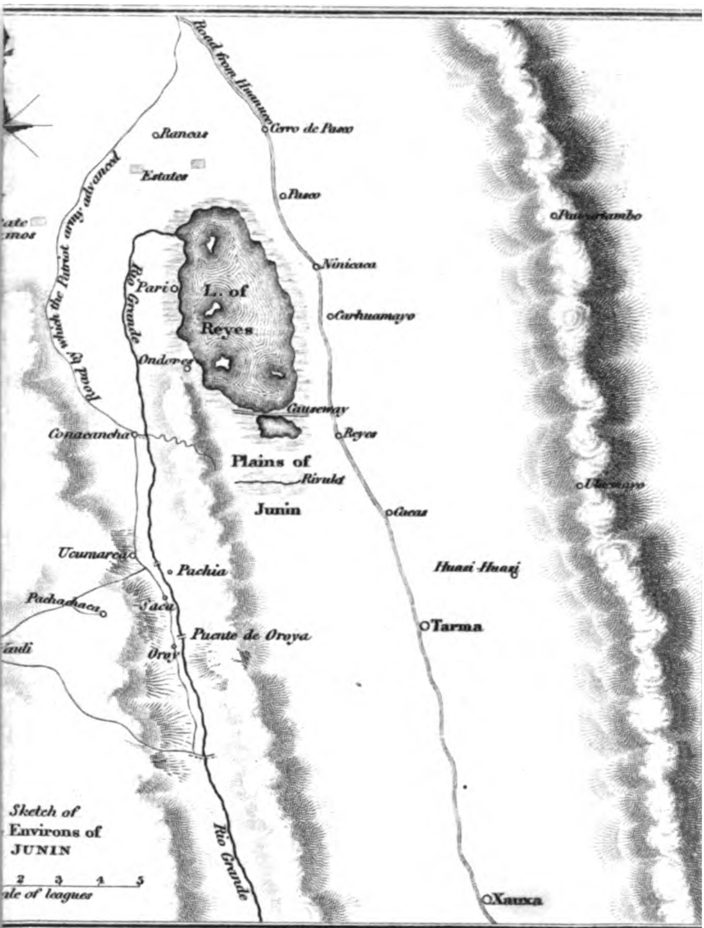
It is but justice to say, that Canterac not only made a masterly charge, but succeeded in attacking under circumstances very unfavourable to the patriots, whose enthusiasm had impelled them perhaps too near the main body of the enemy, and too far across a defile, formed by a rivulet and swampy ground on one side, and an abrupt line of hills on the other, which prevented their deploying so quickly as circumstances required. The squadron forming the head of the column was the only one that was able to deploy.

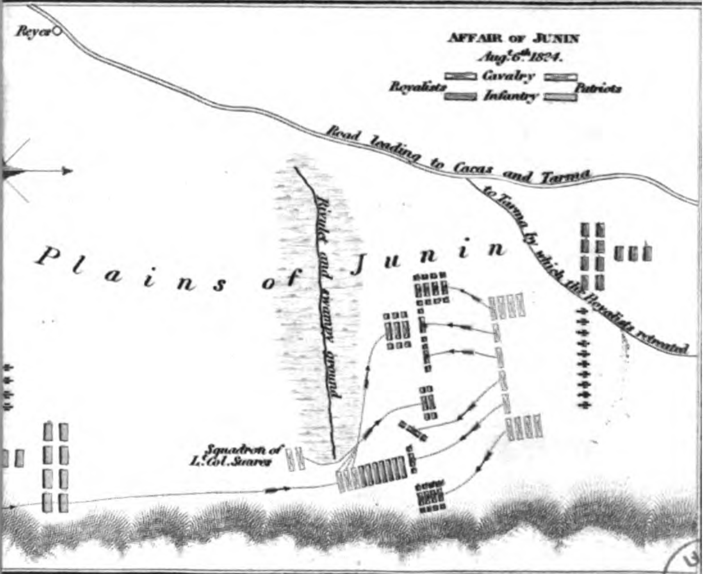
Miller, with two hundred and fifty of the Peruvian cavalry, was ordered, by Bolivar, to outflank the right of the advancing royalists; but as the latter came on at a gallop, this manœuvre could not be carried into effect, and he was compelled to wheel to his right, and attack in front. His men, together with the right of the patriots under General Necochea, were charged at the same instant. The shock was tremendous, and the natural consequence, under the disadvantages just mentioned, was a total rout, with the exception of a few granaderos à caballo, of Colombia, under the brave Major Braun, a German, who cut his way through the assailants; and excepting a Peruvian squadron, which being at the first onset a few hundred yards in the rear, fortunately escaped the effects of the first concussion.

With the first movement, all praise of the Spanish cavalry must terminate, because, instead of preserving their original order, or maintaining a reserve, they divided and dispersed. One party pursued the patriot cavalry, sent to outflank the royalist right, under Miller, who attempted to gain the road leading to Cacas. The other royalist party pursued the rest of the patriots to the defile.

Lieutenant-Colonel Don Isidro Suares, who commanded the unbroken Peruvian squadron, had in the meantime advanced unopposed, in the wide interval left by the pursuing royalists, and, getting completely into their rear, began to charge those who were pursuing the left of the patriots, under Miller, who, embarrassed by the swampy nature of the ground, faced about. The royalists, now in an extended and disorderly state, perceiving themselves threatened in front and rear, began to waver, and fled in their turn. The seasonable succour of Suares enabled the routed patriot squadrons on the right as well as those on the left to rally. General Miller, Colonels Caravajal, Silva, and Bruiz, and Major Braun, with as many of their men as it was possible to collect together, supported Suares. The patriots now used their lances with such effect, that the boasted cavalry of the Spaniards were soon in a state of total and disgraceful flight, and pursued to the very bayonets of their infantry by, comparatively, a handful of their opponents. General Necochea received, early in the action, seven wounds, and was made a prisoner. His life was spared at the intercession of a royalist soldier, who had formerly served under Necochea in the army of the Andes. He had the general placed on horseback behind him, but, as he was carrying him off the field, a Colombian party, under the gallant Captain Sandoval, rescued Necochea. It is, with regret, to be stated, that the humane preserver of the general was killed before the patriots were aware of the service he had performed. Upon Necochea's being wounded, the command of the whole of the cavalry devolved upon Miller.

The action lasted about three quarters of an hour. The Spaniards lost nineteen officers, and three hundred and forty-five rank and file in killed, and eighty prisoners. The patriots had three officers and forty-two rank and file killed, and eight officers and ninety-one rank and file wounded. Not a shot was fired; the lance and the sabre alone were used. The Colombian lance, twelve or fourteen feet long, is formed of a strong tough sapling, headed in the usual manner. The lancers fix the reins of their bridles above the knee, so as to be able to guide their horses, and, at the same time, leave both hands at liberty to wield the lance. They frequently struck their opponents with such force, when at a gallop, as to lift them two or three feet above the saddle. The pole of the Peruvian lance is, like that of the English, heavier, and not so tough as the Colombian; but the Peruvians also used theirs with great dexterity and effect. From the great elevation of the


Road from Huanuco
Rancas
Cerro de Pasco
Estates
Pasco
ate
mos
Road by which the Patriot army advanced
Ninicaca
Paucartambo
Pari
Rio Grande
L. of Reyes
Carhuamayo
Ondores
Causeway
Conocancha
Reyes
Plains of Junin
Rivulet
Ulcumaro
Cacas
Ucumarca
Pachia
Huasi Huasi
Pachachaca
Saca
Tarma
Puente de Oroya
Oroya
Yauli
Sketch of Environs of JUNIN
2 3 4 5
ale of leagues
Rio Grande
Xauxa


Reyes
AFFAIR OF JUNIN
Augt. 6th 1824.
Royalists
Cavalry
Infantry
Patriots
Road leading to Cacas and Tarma
to Tarma by which the Royalists retreated
Plains of Junin
Rivulet and swampy ground
Squadron of Lt. Col. Suarez

London. Published Jan. 1st 1829 by Longman and Co.

plain of Junin the cold at night was so intense, that nearly all the wounded on both sides perished.

The officers who most distinguished themselves, and who principally contributed to the successes of the day, were Lieutenant-Colonel Don Isidro Suares and Major Braun. The hussars of the Peruvian legion were ordered by Bolivar to assume the title of *Usares de Junin,* in testimony of his approbation of their gallant conduct.

Bolivar had passed the defile, and himself directed the first movements of the cavalry; but so soon as he perceived the dispersion, he very properly galloped back to the infantry, which he posted on a very high hill, about a league in the rear, and where he remained until he received the first report of the patriot successes from Miller, who, with a few granaderos à caballo de los Andes, commanded by the gallant Captain Pringuel, followed up the main body of the royalists until dark. Miller had given orders for the cavalry left behind to form on the field, and wait there for further instructions; but, on his return, he found that all had been ordered to retire upon the infantry.

Notwithstanding the total rout of the royalist cavalry, and the precipitate retreat of their infantry, Bolivar thought proper to order the whole liberating forces to fall back upon Reyes, which is precisely the same distance, in the rear, as Cacas is in the front of the field of battle. They accordingly marched to Reyes on the morning of the 7th.

The town presented, on the following day, an interesting spectacle. The troops bivouacked amidst the bare walls of roofless houses, congratulating each other on their success, while the owners, or former tenants of those ruins, flocked into Reyes, accompanied by the inhabitants of surrounding villages, who had also hidden themselves, but who now came forward to embrace their liberators, and to bring them small presents. Groups were seen interspersed with the troops, assisting them, in erecting sheds for the night, in cooking, and in other kind offices, and also in cleaning the lances of the cavalry, still covered with the blood of the Spaniards.

Bolivar occupied a dwelling that had still a sort of roof. This dismantled hut was surrounded by Indians, who suspended silver ornaments on the doorway, as a substitute for wreaths of laurel, or garlands of flowers. At sunset, Miller called to pay his respects to the dictator. As he entered the hut he perceived his old companion in arms, the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Sowersby, leaning against the wall. He had received two lance wounds, neither of which were then thought dangerous; yet his countenance was marked with a melancholy thoughtfulness, and tinged with a wild or wandering expression, that bespoke approaching death. At first he hardly noticed his friend, but, after a short pause, he grasped his hand, and said, with a faltering voice, " My dear Miller, we took arms in this cause almost on the same day. We have often fought side by side. You have witnessed my conduct. You are my oldest and best friend in this service. I am too feeble to say much. You see what is likely to happen. Write to my good old father and mother, and tell them that I fell in a glorious cause." Poor Sowersby, who had fought under the banners of Napoleon at Borodino, and who had survived the horrors of the Russian campaign, died on the following day at Carhuamayo, in his twenty-ninth year. Miller sent an inscription* to the governor of the province of Pasco, and desired him

* A DIOS GLORIFICADOR.
Aqui
Yacen las cenizas
De
Don Carlos Sowersby,
Teniente Coronel del Exercito del Peru,
y comandante
del segundo Esquadron del Regimiento
de Usares de Junin;
A cuya cabeca
recibió dos mortales heridas,
animando á sus camaradas
el 6 de Agosto,
contra una fuerza cuadrupla
en los llanos de Junin
de la cavalleria española
donde
la victoria
coronó los esfuerzos de los soldados
de la Patria,
despues de una reñida y sangrienta accion.
Este valiente Jefe
exaló
su ultimo aliento
el dia 8 de Agosto
en este pueblo de Carhuamayo,
tiernamente llorado
por todos sus compañeros de armas.
Maypo, Riobamba, Pinchincha,
y otros campos
presenciaron
su valor
por la causa de Sud-America.
Nació
de Padres Britanicos
en la cuidad de Bremen en Alemania
en 1795.
Este sencillo monumento
consagra
à su memoria
en testimonio del aprecio y respeto,
que por sus calidades amables
le profesaba
su compañero y fiel amigo
el General de la Republica del Peru
Guillermo Miller
año 1824.

to have it engraved on a slab, to mark the spot which contained the relics of the lamented Sowersby.

Amongst the slain at Junin was Major Lizarraga, a brave Peruvian, who fell pierced with lances by the side of Miller, to whom he was aide-de-camp. On the 7th, Miller sent the major's servant and a few Indians, to find the body of Lizarraga, and bring it to Reyes for interment. On the 8th, the liberating army set out from Reyes for Cacas, and as the line of march ran within a short distance of the field of battle, Miller left the column to revisit it. One of the first objects which struck his attention was Lizarraga's servant weeping over the remains of his master, and so lost in grief, as to have forgotten the object for which he was sent, until reminded of it.

Lizarraga served on the staff, at Lima, in 1823, where he brought himself into notice by his zealous attention, and the intelligent performance of the duties of his situation, as well as by his excellent general conduct. At Miller's solicitation, Lizarraga was appointed his aide-de-camp; and, during the arduous service of the campaign, he signalized himself by unremitting zeal and cool intrepidity. His private worth was evinced in his great solicitude for the welfare of his wife and young family, for whose support he set apart two-thirds of his pay. He had formerly resided at Pasco, and having acquired a practical knowledge of mining, the great object of his ambition was to obtain possession, at the end of the war, of a silver mine, in the hope of becoming rich enough to send all his sons to England for education. To the dishonour of the dictatorial government be it stated,

THE COUNTRY BETWEEN
GUANTA and CUZCO
Leagues

that the widow and children of this brave officer were neglected, and suffered to sink into the deepest distress. While the government sent forth grandiloquent decrees, and lavished away thousands upon thousands of dollars in weekly balls and banquets; —while they were feasting, and drinking bombastic toasts at the public expense,—they suffered the applications of this poor widow, and of many others in similar situations, to be unheard or unattended to. Those arrogant purseholders of the public may probably flatter themselves that their heartless conduct will pass uncensured; but the cry of the widow and the orphan will consign their names to deserved and lasting infamy.

At no great distance from the affectionate servant of the unfortunate Lizarraga, was seen a dog, howling piteously over the corpse of a Spanish officer. This dog had been remarked as having been ridden over by both parties, in several charges and rencontres, but he never lost sight of his master. Miller endeavoured to get the dog away, but he was not then to be coaxed or forced from the spot. A party of the hussars of Junin, who passed a few hours afterwards, with much difficulty, tore him away, and he became the "dog of the regiment."

After halting at Reyes thirty-six hours, the army again advanced, and on the 9th occupied Tarma; on the 11th, Xauxa; on the 14th, Huancayo; on the 22nd, Guanta; and on the 24th, Guamanga.

Although the retiring royalists were not very closely pursued, or very seriously molested, their loss by desertion was great, and Canterac reached the vicinity of Cuzco with less than five thousand men.

When the viceroy learned the disastrous affair of Junin, his excellency recalled Valdez, who had advanced as far as Lava (three hundred and eighty leagues south of Junin, and ten south of Potosi), where he had an indecisive action on the 17th August, eleven days after the affair of Junin, with the ultra-royalist general, Olañeta, in which was killed the gallant Brigadier Ameller, one of the best officers in the royal service.

The liberating army halted at Guamanga nearly a month. The rear division left it on the 18th of September. The whole again halted at Challuanca and in the vicinity. The montoneros, under the brave Colonel Carreño, occupied Abancay, and other points on the left bank of the Apurimac. The dictator reconnoitred this river; and in the first week of October quitted the army to go to Lima, to attend to affairs on the coast, and to hasten reinforcements expected from Colombia. His excellency left instructions with Sucre to go into cantonments at Andahuaylas and Abancay; not supposing that the royalists would think of immediately commencing offensive operations, especially as the rainy season was about to commence.

Two or three days after the departure of Bolivar, Sucre assembled a council of war at Challuanca, to consider the plan of operations which it would be most advisable to adopt; for although he had received instructions from the dictator to go into cantonments, the commander-in-chief conceived that his situation would become very critical, should the enemy advance with superior forces, which there was some reason to expect. The council was attended by Generals La Mar, Lara, and Miller. The two former had had a conference with Sucre previous to Miller's arrival. They all concurred in opinion that the liberating army was in a situation not entirely free from danger, and that it was clear that the enemy would augment his forces if allowed to remain unmolested, in the vicinity of Cuzco, the centre of his resources; but that it was a delicate point to operate in opposition to the instructions of the dictator. Miller, notwithstanding, expressed an opinion that not a moment ought to be lost in advancing to attack the enemy, before he had sufficient time to augment his numbers to any considerable extent, and before Valdez could arrive at Cuzco from Potosi, and in short that the most *prudent* plan was to act *boldly* on the offensive. La Mar and Lara admitted the correctness of Miller's conclusions, but they likewise agreed with Sucre that the army could not with propriety advance. From these nicely-balanced opinions nothing decisive was agreed upon, but the general-in-chief determined to proceed to Mamara and Oropesa, taking with him Miller, to reconnoitre the royalist position on the right bank of the Apurimac, and ascertain the truth or falsehood of a report that the division Valdez was about to enter Cuzco from Potosi. The battalion No. 1, the regiment of hussars of Junin, and a squadron of granaderos à caballo, moved to the front in consequence *.

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* It was during this period that a coolness arose between Sucre and Miller, in consequence of the latter having indiscreetly let fall highly objectionable expressions. Other expressions equally offensive escaped at various times; and

In the mean time Valdez, by one of those extraordinary marches for which he was celebrated, formed a junction with Canterac in the province of Cuzco. The viceroy then placed himself at the head of the united forces, which, by indefatigable activity, were soon augmented to between twelve and thirteen thousand men, and distributed as follows :

Division Monet	1st battalion of Burgos.
	2d ——— of 1st regiment.
	——— of Guias.
	——— of Vitoria.
Division Villalobos	1st and 2d battalion of Gerona.
	1st ——— of 1st regiment.
	2d ——— of Imperial.
	——— of Fernandinos.
Division Valdez	1st battalion of Imperial.
	——— of Cantabria.
	——— of Centro.
	——— of Castro.
Division Ferras (1500 cavalry)	Granaderos de la Guardia.
	Usares de Fernando 7°.
	Dragones de la Union.
	Esquadron de San Carlos.
	——— de Alabarderos.

General Cacho.—Twenty-four pieces of artillery.

General Canterac.—Chief of the staff and second in command.

General Carratalà.—1st adjutant general.

This important junction restored confidence to the royalist troops, and the assumption of the command

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although Miller continued to be actively employed in front of the army, and on the most dangerous services, the coolness continued to exist for more than a year.

in chief by the viceroy inspired them with the loftiest expectations, which the absence of Bolivar tended to strengthen. There was an ample and well regulated arsenal in Cuzco, to which were attached five hundred artificers and labourers.

General Miller, with a squadron of granaderos à caballo, and some parties of montoneros, occupied Oropesa and other villages in that direction, situated from twenty to thirty leagues in advance of the cantonments of the liberating army. At this time General Sucre despatched General Gamarra from head-quarters, to place himself in communication with his compatriots, the inhabitants of Cuzco. He took Oropesa in his way, and Miller, at Gamarra's own request, provided him with a strong escort of cavalry, with which he proceeded to a small village where Miller had placed an advanced post, six leagues in front of Oropesa, and about three from Haquíra. On the following morning Miller was surprised to learn that Gamarra had precipitately retired, taking with him, not only the whole of his escort, but also the patriot piquet, and had taken the shortest route towards Sucre's head-quarters, without Miller's being apprized of this movement. It appears that a few royalists had been seen, and that Gamarra had given hasty and implicit credence to a false report of a hostile column being in advance. Upon accidentally hearing this, Miller, with an officer and three dragoons, rode to the village to ascertain the true state of affairs; and on galloping into it, found himself on a sudden close to a dismounted Spanish officer, two dragoons, and a trumpeter, who were resting in the court-yard of a house. Miller, looking over a low front wall, called upon the Spaniards to surrender, telling them, at the same time, that they were surrounded, and Miller's officer rode back as if to give orders to troops in the rear. Miller soon ascertained that the royalist officer was the bearer of a flag of truce, and that it was the sight of his party on the Agcha road which had given rise to Gamarra's unnecessary alarm. Miller dismounted to receive a letter from Valdez, and the bearer was allowed to remain two hours, during which he was made to believe that two or three patriot battalions, and a regiment of cavalry, were posted in the vicinity. Miller happened to be chewing the coca leaf, and upon the royalist officer remarking it, he was told that cigars were a luxury not within the reach of the patriot army. On his return, the Spaniard mentioned the circumstance to General Valdez, who, never wanting in courtesy, had the politeness to send Miller a box of Havannah cigars. On the day following the departure of the flag of truce, Miller occupied Haquíra and other villages situated on the left bank of the river Santo Tomas. The royalist Brigadier-General Bedoya was stationed on the right bank of the same river. Colonel Althaus, a distinguished German officer, moved on to Colquemarca, where a few royalists had been left by Bedoya to report the movements of the patriots. Althaus concealed his party behind a hill not far from the village. At this time the royalist lieutenant-colonel was at mass, having placed one man on the look out from the church tower. The sentry saw

Althaus and a montonero ride into the village, but as they wore ponchos and slouched straw hats, he did not suspect they were military men, and therefore gave no alarm until they approached the church. Althaus got close to the church door before the sentry discovered that he was a patriot officer. The performance of mass ceased on the first cry of "*enemigos.*" The congregation rushed out, and the royalist commander, unable to obtain shelter from the inhabitants, was taken prisoner. His party fell into the hands of the montoneros in ambuscade.

On the evening of the same day Cornet Olmos with another small party was sent towards Capazmarca. At sunset he forded the river of Haquíra with much difficulty. The night became so dark that he was obliged to march for two leagues with lighted torches. On approaching a royalist outpost on the top of the mountain, the lights were put out, and the royalist piquet commanded by a subaltern was taken. On the following day Miller set out himself for Capazmarca, with an intention of proceeding onwards until he saw an enemy. Half way up the ascent he was met by Indian emissaries, who reported that the Spaniards were approaching. Miller however continued his march to Capazmarca, situated upon the summit of the mountain, whence he saw about three hundred Spaniards at some distance, and which, it appeared, Valdez had detached for the purpose of expelling the patriot reconnoitring parties. A dreadful storm now came on. The rain fell in torrents; the thunder pealed on every side, and frequently below them; at times it burst so near that it was with difficulty the horses and mules could be made to stir a step. The same evening Valdez was struck off his horse at Agcha by the electric fluid, and several lives were lost. Having ascertained the advance of the royalists, Miller descended the mountain, in the hope of reaching the river before the rain should have rendered it impassable; but it had already swelled to such a degree, that he began to consider how he could hide his party in the woods on the arrival of the Spaniards: the latter, however, considering that the mountain side was an unsafe descent, in its then slippery state, did not pursue far beyond Capazmarca. The patriot party took shelter in a few miserable Indian huts, in one of which lived a daughter of the celebrated Pumacagua. The rain having ceased in the night, and the water having subsided, the patriot party recrossed the torrent on the following morning, and again reached Haquira. Miller remained in the vicinity of the enemy's outposts for about a fortnight; his parties occupying Tambo-Bambo, Haquíra, and Colquemarca. During these operations Doctor Torres, priest of one of the neighbouring villages, and distinguished for patriotism and talent, rendered important services to Miller.

The viceroy concentrated his forces in the vicinity of Agcha, whilst Sucre, with the liberating army, occupied an extended position, having Lambrama for its centre.

It now appeared evident, that the viceroy was about to commence offensive operations. Miller continuing in observation proceeded from Haquira towards Santo Tomas. It happened at the same time, that the whole royalist army had advanced to

Colquemarca, and had pushed on detached parties to Quiñota, which place they entered, at night, soon after Miller left it. The commanding officer, thinking himself sure of making a prisoner, surrounded the curate's house with his party, and sent an Indian lad to say that his mother being taken suddenly ill, required the immediate attendance of a confessor. The priest, suspecting, from the manner of the boy, that some trick was intended, refused to go. The officer then ordered the door to be broken open, and a strict search was made. It was some time before they could persuade themselves that the bird had flown. The priest was kept a prisoner for some little time. Another royalist party then advanced to Llagua, by which movement they more completely cut off the retreat of Miller by the high road, and his situation became exceedingly embarrassing, because Sucre at Lambrama was in total ignorance of the viceroy's decided movements, and it was impossible for Miller to communicate with him on the subject.

On Miller's arrival at Santo Tomas, the inhabitants received him with marks of satisfaction; but before the bells had ceased to ring, information arrived of the entrance of the royalists into Quiñota. Rejoicing was turned into consternation, and this was soon afterwards increased by the appearance of a party approaching the village at the distance of a league. The inhabitants began to pack up, and the patriots prepared to retreat; but, before commencing it, some well mounted scouts were sent to reconnoitre the approaching party, which also took the same precautions, both supposing each other to be enemies. But it was soon discovered to be Colonel Althaus and his escort retiring from Uelille. Thus this false alarm was converted into a source of mutual gratification, for Althaus was not only a very intelligent and enterprising officer, but a jovial companion, possessed of an inexhaustible fund of humour, which flowed upon every occasion to the great amusement of his companions.

Halting a few hours at Santo Tomas to refresh the horses, Miller and Althaus set out for Oropesa. The least difficult and shortest road ran for a league towards Quiñota; where it branched off at a ford, the gaining of which would have saved eight or ten leagues. Althaus enlivened the night march by recounting some adventures in his usual droll manner, which made every body laugh immoderately. Just before the party reached the desired spot for crossing the river, while Althaus was in the middle of a good story, about a milk-white mule, which he then rode, and which the day before had carried the host in procession at Uelille, the party stumbled, about midnight, upon a royalist detachment sent from Quiñota to intercept it. A few shots were exchanged in the dark, and the patriots dispersed. They reunited partially at Santo Tomas, and from thence took another track. In making the detour to Oropesa, they perceived signs of an approaching storm, and directed their steps, from a ridge of the Cordillera, towards a hut, seen at a great distance below. Commencing their descent at 2 P. M. they led their horses, for two leagues, down the craggy slope of a mountain. On arriving, just before sunset, at the bottom of the valley, they discovered that the supposed hut was only a ruin, and on the opposite side of a rapid river. Knowing that the river flowed close to Oropesa, and that they could not be more than seven or eight leagues from that village, they preferred following the windings of the stream to endeavouring to reclimb the mountain; indeed, so fatigued were both men and animals, that it would have been in vain to attempt it. There was no road leading through the valley, which was so rugged and narrow as to make it necessary to ford the torrent six or eight times; a work of danger and great difficulty: more than an hour was occupied each time they crossed. Men were placed on rocks a little below the ford, in readiness to throw the lasso, to save those who might be carried off their legs by the stream. Two days were occupied in making a march of a few leagues. The party reached Oropesa very much exhausted, having subsisted upon a very scanty allowance of roasted Indian corn. The inhabitants of Oropesa were in great consternation. Some had fled, and others were preparing to follow.

On the ensuing day Miller set out with fresh horses towards Guaillate, to ascertain if the viceroy was proceeding in that direction, as had been reported. He had not ascended more than two leagues, when, upon abruptly reaching a summit, he discovered the whole royalist army in full march for Mamara, a village situated in the same valley as Oropesa, and at the distance of two leagues. Miller had scarcely time to have his saddle removed from a mule to a horse, to avoid falling into the hands of a detachment of hussars sent in pursuit. He lost two horses, and also his ponchos, and a valise; articles of little intrinsic value, but a heavy loss under such circumstances. He returned to Oropesa, as fast as the rough track down the steep hill would permit. The horse of one of the escort stumbled, and precipitated its rider to the bottom of a frightful ravine. The unfortunate man was never heard of again; he had served in the regiment of granaderos à caballo from its formation, and had been present at the affair of San Lorenzo on the Parana; at Laja, in the province of Concepcion in Chile; at Pinchincha, under the line near Quito; and at various other affairs. He was orderly serjeant to Miller nearly the whole of the campaign. He was a brave man, and his loss was sincerely regretted.

Miller continued his retreat by the opposite side of the valley of Oropesa, and passed within half a league of Mamara, on the heights of which he could plainly count the royalist columns in bivouac. The patriot party having lost the proper direction, wandered about precipitous ravines, until three o'clock on the following morning, when it fortunately came to a cluster of huts. Here it halted, with the intention of going on again at day-break; but both men and horses were so worn out with fatigue, that neither were able to proceed until 10 A. M. In half an hour afterwards, the viceroy occupied the hut in which the patriots had rested themselves.

At sunset, Miller reached Chuquibamba, where he found Althaus, who separated from him in the dark at Santo Tomas, and had taken a different road.

Althaus was directed to retire a league or two to the rear, with the escorts; Miller remaining in the town with Captain Melendez, and two or three men. Large fires were lighted to keep up the appearance of the place being occupied by a force.

The priest of the village promised to give timely warning of the approach of an enemy, which could easily be done, because the only entrance, from the Mamara side, was by a bridge, over an unfordable torrent. As an additional security, Miller sent, unknown to the priest, a couple of Indians to keep watch also: under an impression of confidence, he took off his clothes for the first time for a fortnight, and retired to rest. The royalist General Valdez, who had a few days before sent Miller a box of cigars, now despatched a company of infantry to procure himself the society of his antagonist. In the course of the night some Indians, employed by the Spaniards, entered the village, and were suffered to return; of this Miller was informed by his own scouts, and contrary, as it afterwards appeared, to the wishes of the priest, who reckoned upon making his peace with the royalists, by betraying his guest. On the first alarm Miller rode to an eminence, on the way to Lambrama, overlooking Chuquibamba. The royalists, who had been deterred, by the blaze of the fires, from advancing, ran into the town at day-break. At this moment the Indians, instigated by the priest, rose *en masse*. They perched themselves on the hills, and hurled down stones upon the patriots without mercy. Miller's charger, considered the finest horse in the army, and the one on which he rode at the battle of Junin, fell, with an orderly, into their hands. Miller continued to retreat, followed by the yelling Indians, increasing in numbers at every hut near which they passed. Althaus, who had taken up his quarters at a little distance from the road, had sent his party on towards Lambrama, and remained behind with a few attendants. On hearing the shouts of the Indians, Althaus retired; but finding they gained upon him, he dismounted, to remove the saddle, from his milk-white mule, to his best horse. The horse took fright and broke loose, while the attendants being in advance, galloped off without looking behind them. The colonel was thus left on foot and alone. So long as the road was tolerably open, he kept the Indians at bay with his sword; but when he came to a narrow pass, they closed upon him, bound his arms, and conducted him to Chuquibamba. It is probable they would have taken his life, but that his clerical figure led them to imagine that he was a regimental chaplain, an illusion which Althaus took no pains to dispel.

On the 6th of November, Miller rejoined at Lambrama the liberating army. Sucre was on the extreme left of the line, and Generals La Mar and Lara, with their respective divisions at Lambrama, were in ignorance of the approach of the enemy until the party which Althaus had sent forward arrived. They reported that Althaus and Miller were prisoners. When the latter unexpectedly appeared at a pass descending into the valley, he was instantly recognised, and upon his passing the different corps, a cordial feeling of satisfaction was manifested by all. Although every one in the bivouac, excepting General Lara, had firmly believed in the report of Miller having been captured, yet many contrived to make themselves overheard in saying, that they had foretold the contrary; and Lara's observation, that "Miller could scent the enemy too well to be caught," was repeated by several as their own.

The most harassing services are sometimes marked by incidents which more than compensate for fatigues and anxiety of mind. A thousand unstudied demonstrations of personal regard, and a thousand unaffected indications of community of feeling, became legible in the veteran countenances of officers and men, when they grouped themselves spontaneously to welcome the unhoped-for return of their old companion in arms, whose re-appearance was hailed with feelings of personal attachment, rather than of consideration for his rank. Insensible must be the mind which could fail to appreciate such honourable testimonials, and cold the heart which would not bound with honest pride, and look upon the humblest soldier with affectionate regard. A fortunate commander may indeed feel highly gratified by the incense offered at the gorgeous banquet; but nothing can be compared with the unalloyed pleasure with which he exchanges the welcoming smile of his comrades in campaign.

Sucre arrived at Lambrama on the 7th. On that day the liberating forces fell back towards Casinchigua, where they arrived on the 9th, and where Sucre established his head-quarters. A division of infantry, and all the cavalry, were cantoned on that estate; a division was at Pinchigua, and the other at

Chaljuani, all within a league of each other. Miller remained at Lambrama eight-and-forty hours after the troops left it; but the royalist army, contrary to expectation, discontinued its march by that route. It remained posted between Sabaino and Mollepata, having advanced posts near Ancabamba and Soraya, seven leagues from Casinchigua. It appeared that the viceroy was fearful of risking an attack upon the patriots, occupying a country abounding in positions of uncommon natural advantages. The sides of the valley of Casinchigua, as was the case with many others throughout the country, were bold, like the banks of a river flowing between mountains; and a numerous army, defiling down their zigzag tracks, might be destroyed by the musketry of a few enemies posted behind crags on the opposite acclivity. The viceroy therefore decided upon making a detour, to get into the rear of the patriots, and cut off their communications with Lima, and thus oblige them to abandon their strong holds. Accordingly his excellency took the route of Pampachira, and reached Guamanga on the 16th of November, whence he made a counter movement by taking the high road leading to Cuzco. In the meanwhile Sucre fell back upon Andahuaylas, where he halted a few days, and then continued his march towards Guamanga. The opposing forces, marching thus on the same road towards each other, soon came in contact. To clearly understand these movements, the reader is requested to throw open the plan of Ayacucho, and refer to the sketch of its environs.

The advanced guard of each army met on the

20th of November on the heights of Bombon, near Chincheros. The royalists were driven down into the valley of Pomacochas, and across the river of Pampas, by the bridge of Bejucos, which they destroyed. The river is at all times difficult and dangerous to ford.

The royalists bivouacked on the heights of Concepcion, and the patriots upon those of Bombon. The deep and rugged valley of Pomacochas being between them, rendered each position alike unassailable. The hostile forces were within two miles of each other, as the bird flies; but the distance to descend and ascend by the tortuous track was at least ten. Videttes occupied each bank of the river. The valley is thickly wooded, and the soil particularly rich. The atmosphere swarms with musquitoes to a degree that renders it uninhabitable. The Jesuits failed in three several attempts to settle there, and the ruins of an extensive establishment are still visible. The men placed on piquet returned to the encampment with their hands and faces swollen, and in a high degree of fever, from the bites of the large musquitoes, against which gloves and handkerchiefs were not a sufficient protection.

On the 24th, the tents and huts of the royalists had disappeared. Miller forded the river to ascertain if the army had withdrawn itself. Four of his men, whilst ascending the opposite side of the valley, were suddenly attacked by a party in ambuscade. Two of them were made prisoners; and Major La Tapia, who accompanied the general, narrowly escaped by rolling himself down a precipice.

CHAPTER XXV.

Matará.—Corpaguayco.—Precautions taken by the royalists to prevent desertion.—Patriots offer battle at Tambo Cangallo.—Continue their retreat.—Hostilities of the Indians.—Royalists occupy Guamanguilla.—Critical position of the independents.—Battle of Ayacucho.—Viceroy taken prisoner.—Royalists defeated.—Incidents.—Capitulation.

On the 25th of November, it was ascertained that the royalists had made a lateral movement to their right towards Vilcasguaman, and that the division Valdez had crossed the river near Guancaray, in order, it was supposed, to decoy the independents into the valley of Pomacochas, and to attack them there, should they be induced to resume their retreat towards Guamanga. Sucre, however, anxious to restore his communication with Lima, crossed the valley, without being caught in the defiles. In fording the river Pampas, the infantry were up to the breast in water; many were carried down by the stream, but such were the precautions taken that only two lives were lost. This operation was so tedious, and the roads so bad, that it took an entire day to march three leagues. The army bivouacked on the night of the 30th beneath trees of enormous dimensions, which clothed the sides of the valley, but the musquitoes effectually prevented repose; and although excessively fatigued, the order to march was looked forward to, by all, with extreme anxiety: it was not, however, given until day-break, it being necessary to allow time for the baggage and stores to join. A farther ascent of two leagues and a half, through Ocros, brought the patriots to the table land, and in another half league they arrived at the descent which conducted them to the hamlet of Matará, where they bivouacked on the 1st of December. The rain had fallen in torrents during the whole of the day, and it still continued through the night. Matará is situated in a hollow, surrounded by gentle acclivities, which ascend to a considerable height.

On the 2d, the royalists appeared, and bivouacked on the edge of that part of the table land from which the patriots had descended the preceding day. The patriots occupied a position with a small grassy ravine in front, but in other respects objectionable. The viceroy, as if determined to play a sure game, and persuaded that he could annihilate his opponents without risking a general action, declined to attack them.

On the afternoon of the 3rd, the royalists moved to their left, along the crest of the ridge, but far enough below it to conceal their line from observation. Lieutenant-Colonel Bustamante, sent to reconnoitre, was taken prisoner on reaching the top of the hills. The object of the enemy was to gain the high road in the rear, which General Sucre perceiving, recommenced his retreat; but whilst defiling into the valley of Corpaguayco (a league from Matará), he was briskly attacked by the division Valdez, which had advanced in the morning unperceived. The Colombian battalion of rifles*, commanded by Colonel Sands, forming the rear-guard, was, after some resistance, overpowered and dispersed.

The battalion Bargas also dispersed, but was rallied by Miller, and made to protect the cavalry as it crossed the valley at Chonta by a pass and ford which he had fortunately discovered when examining the *quebrada* on the preceding day. Having gained the opposite side of the valley, the patriots formed, and drove back a royalist battalion which attempted to cross.

Major Duckbury, of the battalion Rifles, an Englishman, and one of the best and most indefatigable officers in the Colombian army, and two hundred patriots, were killed. Their field-train depôt; their spare horses and mules; and one of their two remaining field-pieces, fell into the hands of the enemy. The casualties of the royalists did not exceed thirty.

Notwithstanding this severe reverse, the patriots retreated at 11 A. M. on the 14th, in the best possible order, to Tambo-Cangallo, three leagues north of Corpaguayco, and seven south of Guamanga. They were followed by the royalists, but with great caution.

Fifteen soldiers passed over from the royalists on the morning of the 4th, a few hours after the affair of Corpaguayco. These men had served in the montoneros of Colonel Lanza, and had been taken prisoners near Cochabamba. Most of them brought their arms, and all requested to be attached to a corps. On the same morning, fourteen men of the liberating army deserted to the royalists. They had been made prisoners, and obliged to serve by the independents during the campaign.

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* This regiment was originally composed of British subjects, who greatly distinguished themselves in Colombia. The European soldiers having almost every one died or been killed off, the corps was next completed by twelve hundred Indians, who spoke nothing but their native dialect: the officers, being British, gave the word of command in English. As the Indians were expended in the course of service, their places were supplied by creoles, mulattos, &c. On the arrival of the battalion in Peru, only ten British officers remained with it. Colonel (now General) Sands, a native of Dublin, and formerly an officer in the British army, had risen by merit and services to the command of it. This gallant officer had been engaged in almost every action fought in Colombia. Captain Miller Hallowes, a native of Ashford, in Kent, Captain Ferguson, a gallant Irishman, and Captain Whittle, were also distinguished officers in the same corps. The latter commanded the battalion Bargas, which saved Bolivar's life by defeating the revolted regiment of artillery, and by suppressing the conspiracy which took place at Bogota in September 1828.

The royalists avoided entering villages, and kept as much as possible along the ridges of the mountains, so that their march from Cuzco, to near Guamanga, was a perfect *steeple chase.* Their sufferings and difficulties may be conceived from what has been said relative to those of the patriots, in traversing the Andes on their advance from Huaras. The road from Guamanga to Cuzco may be considered in the very centre of the Andes, and winds up and down mountains encircling almost fathomless valleys. Many of the ascents are four and five leagues at a stretch, amidst scenery of the wildest grandeur imaginable.

The precautions taken by the royalist officers to prevent desertion also tended considerably to increase the privations of their men. Whenever they halted, the corps were bivouacked in column, round which a circle of sentinels, of the most trustworthy soldiers, was formed, and without that circle a great number of officers were constantly kept on duty. The soldiers were not permitted, *on any plea*, to pass the sentinels.

The vice-king, for the same reason, was averse to sending detachments in search of cattle, for, on such occasions, a number of the men were sure to desert. The consequence of this system was, that, during the rapid advance of the royalists, they suffered more than the patriots from want of provisions; so that, on the 3rd, they were reduced to eat the flesh of horses, mules, and asses.

The independents took up a position in the evening, and again offered battle, which the royalists again declined. At midnight the independents left the high-road, leading to Guamanga, obliqued to the right, and crossed the deep rugged *quebrada* of Acroco, two leagues in descent, and as much in the ascent on the opposite side. At eight A. M. on the 5th, they reached the village of Guanchao, and in the afternoon of the same day, they continued their march to Acos-Vinchos. The royalists moved in a parallel line towards Guamanga, at the distance of two leagues, and always in sight. A deep valley lay between them.

On the 6th, the patriots reached the village of Quinua. The royalists continued their parallel movement to the heights of Pacaycasa. In consequence of the road between this place and Guamanga being intersected by two deep *quebradas* and many ravines, and the paths being, in most places, extremely narrow, their line of march extended over a distance of from two to three leagues. The patriots, already in Quinua, upon perceiving this, formed for the purpose of attacking their opponents, the foremost of whom were only three miles distant from them; the intervening space being an open country with a gradual descent, seemed to afford them a favourable opportunity of avenging the losses they had sustained at Corpaguayco. Previous to ordering the intended advance, Sucre and La Mar rode forward to reconnoitre. But this operation occupied so much of their time, that they considered it was too late to attack the royalists that evening. On the next morning, the latter entered Guamanguilla, and thus once more cut off the farther retreat of the independents, whose situation then became extremely critical.

Sucre conducted the retreat with skill, but his numbers were so alarmingly reduced, that nothing but some desperate effort was likely to save his army from destruction. The viceroy sent detachments to Marca, Mayoc, and other defiles, to render them impassable, and to destroy the bridges.

The Indians of Guanta, Huancavelica, Chincheros, Huando, and the adjacent villages, had been induced to rise against the liberating army. They had assassinated upwards of one hundred sick with their escorts, together with the escorts of some of the baggage. An aide-de-camp of Miller, Captain Smith, was taken by those of Guanta, but after receiving a severe beating, and three days' imprisonment, he escaped to the coast. His life was spared only on the intercession of an inhabitant at whose house Miller had been billeted. The hills which overlook the village of Quinua were occupied by hostile Indians, who had the boldness to approach within half a mile of the patriot encampment, and succeeded in capturing several head of oxen from a party of dragoons. During the preceding fortnight, the casualties of the liberating army had not been less than twelve hundred, so that at Quinua it amounted to less than six thousand effective men. The cavalry, having lost their mules at Corpaguayco, were obliged to walk and lead their horses, many of which became disabled in consequence of having cast their shoes.

A patriot battalion, and some detachments of convalescents, on their way from Xauxa to join the liberating army, were attacked in the dark by the Indians of Huando, and obliged to retreat with loss. Every circumstance concurred to increase the gloom which overhung the prospects of the patriots. They could not retreat; they could not attack the royalists, on account of the abrupt ravine, two hundred yards deep, between the two armies; and want of provisions would have rendered their remaining in that position, five days longer, impossible. All was now ominous and fearful, but the spirits and courage of the republicans appeared to rise in proportion as their affairs became more desperate; and it will soon be seen what brave men, ably led on, can effect in the cause of liberty.

In the afternoon of the 8th, the viceroy moved from Guamanguilla, and occupied, with his whole forces, the heights of Condorkanki *, just without gun-shot of the encampment of the independents. Two hours before sunset, a royalist battalion of light-infantry descended the hill, and extended itself at the foot. It was opposed by a light-infantry battalion of the patriots; and some sharp skirmishing, in extended files, took place. The evolutions were performed at

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* Condorkanki, or Condorcanqui, is a Quichua term, which means "worthy of the condor."

the sound of the bugle, and nothing could exceed the coolness and good conduct of the men engaged on both sides.

The general effect of the skirmishing was extremely fine. The interest of the scene was much varied and enhanced by occasional cessations of firing by tacit consent. During which intervals, several officers of the opposite parties approached each other and conversed. In one of these parleys, Brigadier-General Tur, of the Spanish service, sent a message to his brother, who, having married a beautiful woman of Lima, had become virtually an American, and was now a lieutenant-colonel in the independent army. The two brothers met. The elder began the conversation by expressing his regret that a Spaniard should be seen in the ranks of the insurgents, but added that, notwithstanding his sorrow on that account, he felt impelled by the recollections and feelings of other times to assure his brother, that he might reckon upon his protection when the coming battle should place him in the power of the royalists, who otherwise might not deal lightly with a Spaniard taken in such company. The lieutenant-colonel observed, in reply, that if he had sent for him for the purpose of offering an insult, it were better they had never met, and then turned round to walk away. Upon this, the royalist general rushed forward, made an apology, and, in view of the two armies, the brothers embraced in the most affectionate manner. In a few hours afterwards General Tur was a prisoner of war, and the welcome guest of his brother, the lieutenant-colonel.

Quinua, an Indian village, is on the western extremity of the plain of Ayacucho, the shape of which is nearly square, about a league in circumference, and flanked right and left by deep, rugged, ravines. In the rear of the plain, or towards the west, is a gradual descent of two leagues to the main road from Guamanga to Guanta, which runs along the base of a mountain range, that rises like a wall with no apparent outlet. The eastern boundary of the plain is formed by the abrupt and rugged ridge of Condorkanki; which gigantic bulwark, running north and south, overlooks the field of Ayacucho. A little below the summit of this ridge was perched the royalist army.

The liberating army was drawn up on the plain, in front of the Spaniards, at an interval of about a mile, having Quinua in the rear, each corps being formed in close column, to await the attack of the royalists. It was disposed in the following order:

Division Cordova (on the right).	Bogota. Caracas. Voltigeros. Pinchincha.
Cavalry, Miller (in the centre).	Hussars of Junin. Granaderos of Colombia. Hussars of Colombia. Granaderos of Buenos Ayres.
Division La Mar (on the left).	Legion No. 1. 2. No. 3.

Division Lara (in reserve).	Bargas. Vencedores. Rifles.
Commandant La Fuente (in front).	One four-pounder.
General Gamarra,	Chief of the staff*.

† Colonel O'Connor, Second to Gamarra on the staff.

During the night of the 8th, a brisk fire was maintained between the royalist and patriot outposts. It was the object of Sucre to prevent the royalists descending in the night. For this purpose the bands of two battalions were sent with a company near to the foot of the ridge, and continued playing for some time whilst a sharp fire was kept up. This feint had the desired effect, for the royalists did not stir from their lines.

The viceroy's position in the night of the 8th was very much exposed: his infantry, occupying the front of the ridge of Condorkanki, was within musket-range of the foot of the hill. The fire from two or three battalions, deployed into line, might have obliged the royalists to abandon their position. As it was, a lieutenant-colonel and two or three men, within the Spanish encampment, were killed, as they sat round their fires, by chance balls from the patriot company at the foot of the hill.

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* General Santa Cruz had marched from Huaras with the liberating army. He was, at the commencement of the campaign, attached to the Peruvian division, afterwards chief of the staff of the Dictator, and ultimately he remained at Guamanga, as prefect of that department. General Correa was also attached to the division Lara, but he quitted the army, for the coast, at Challuanca.

† The indefatigable O'Connor performed the duties of chief of the staff from the time the liberating army left Guamanga until two or three days previous to the battle of Ayacucho. Colonel O'Connor is the son of Roger O'Connor, and godson of Sir Francis Burdett. He has adhered to the cause of South American independence with persevering enthusiasm. Having raised a very fine regiment at Panama, he came to Peru in command of it. He has often distinguished himself in the field, and is universally esteemed for his bravery, disinterestedness, and gentlemanly deportment.

The night of the 8th was one of deep and anxious interest. A battle was inevitable on the following day, and that battle was to decide the destinies of South America. The patriots were aware that they had to contend with twice their own numbers; and that nothing but a decisive victory could save them and their country from ignominious servitude. The patriot *soldier* might indeed expect to escape with *life*, reduced to the condition of a slave; but with the patriot generals and officers, it was only a choice between death and victory. They knew full well what would be the cruel policy of the Spaniards if they proved victorious. The viceroy was, it is true, a man of humane disposition, but the individual who counselled Monet to shoot two patriot officers in the pass of San Mateo, and the other man (if such he may be called) who ran his sword through the wounded and defenceless Major Gumer, on the field at Ica, were, with others, of a character equally sanguinary, amongst the advisers of La Serna; and it is extremely probable that unsparing executions would have been resorted to in the hope of destroying the very germ of future insurrection. Every one felt that the approaching battle was to have no common result.

The morning of the 9th dawned particularly fine. At first there was a chilness in the air which seemed to influence the minds of the men, but when the sun rose above the mountain, the effects of its genial warmth became manifest in the renovated spirits of the soldiers. The men on both sides were observed rubbing their hands, and exhibiting every token of content and satisfaction. At nine A. M. the division Villalobos began to descend. The viceroy, on foot, placed himself at its head; and the files wound down the craggy side of Condorkanki, obliquing a little to their left. The division Monet, forming the royalist right, commenced at the same time to defile directly into the plain. The cavalry, leading their horses, made the same movement, though with greater difficulty, between the infantry of each division. As the files arrived on the plain, they formed into column. This was a moment of extraordinary interest. It appeared as though respiration were suspended by feelings of anxiety, mingled with doubts and hope.

It was during this operation, which had an imposing effect, that Sucre rode along his own line, and, addressing a few emphatic words to each corps, recalled to memory its former achievements. He then placed himself in a central point, and, in an inspiring tone of voice, said, "that upon the efforts of that day depended the fate of South America;" then pointing to the descending columns, he assured his men, "that another day of glory was about to crown their admirable constancy." This animating address of the general produced an electric effect, and was answered by enthusiastic "*vivas.*"

By the time that rather more than half the royalist divisions, Monet and Villalobos, had reached and formed upon the arena, Sucre ordered the division Cordova and two regiments of cavalry to advance to the charge. The gallant Cordova placed himself about fifteen yards in front of his division, formed into four parallel columns with the cavalry in the intervals. Having dismounted, he plunged his sword into the heart of his charger, and turning to the troops, exclaimed, "There lies my last horse; I have now no means of escape, and we must fight it out together!" Then waving his hat above his head, he continued, "*Adelante, con paso de vencedores*" (onwards with the step of conquerors). These words were heard distinctly throughout the columns, which, inspired by the gallant bearing of their leader, moved to the attack in the finest possible order. The Spaniards stood firmly and full of apparent confidence. The viceroy was seen, as were also Monet and Villalobos, at the head of their divisions, superintending the formation of their columns as they reached the plain. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for three or four minutes the two parties struggled together, so as to leave it doubtful which would give way. At this moment the Colombian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. This brave officer fell covered with wounds, but the intrepidity of the onset was irresistible. The royalists lost ground, and were driven back with great slaughter. The vice-king was wounded and taken prisoner. As the fugitives climbed the sides of Condorkanki, the patriots, who had deployed, kept up a well-directed fire, and numbers of the enemy were seen to drop and roll down, till their progress was arrested by the brush-wood, or some jutting crag.

Miller, who had followed up Cordova's division, perceiving its complete success, returned to the regiment of Usares de Junin, which fortunately had been left in reserve.

At dawn of day, the royalist division Valdez commenced a detour of nearly a league. Descending the sides of Condorkanki on the north, Valdez had placed himself on the left of the patriots at musket-shot distance, separated by a ravine. At the important moment of the battle, just described, he opened a heavy fire from four field-pieces and a battalion in extended files. By this, he obliged two battalions of the Peruvian division La Mar to fall back. The Colombian battalion Bargas, sent to support the Peruvian division, also began to give way. Two royalist battalions crossed the deep ravine, already spoken of, on the left, and advanced in double quick time in pursuit of the retiring patriots. At this critical juncture, Miller took upon himself to lead the hussars of Junin against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back, and followed them across the ravine, by which time he was supported by the granaderos à caballo and by the division La Mar, which had rallied. The brave Colonel Plaza crossed the ravine at the head of the legion on the left. Lieutenant-Colonel Moran, at the head of the battalion Bargas, made a similar movement on the right of the cavalry. These two battalions and the cavalry, mutually supporting and rivalling each other in valour, repeated their charges with such resolution, that the division Valdez was broken; its artillery taken; its cavalry obliged to fly in disorder; and its infantry dispersed.

The royalists had now lost the battle, and fled to the ridge from which they had descended, in the morning, with so much confidence.

The action lasted an hour. Fourteen hundred royalists were killed, and seven hundred wounded, and they lost fifteen pieces of artillery.

The loss on the part of the patriots was three hundred and seventy killed, and six hundred and nine wounded[*].

The single piece of artillery belonging to the patriots did considerable execution on the royalist columns, and was of service also in attracting a heavy fire from their artillery, which if it had been directed upon the patriot columns, would have occasioned the loss to be more considerable.

The plan of the royalists was to wait until Valdez had outflanked the left of Sucre's position, from which having driven him, the whole army was to ad-

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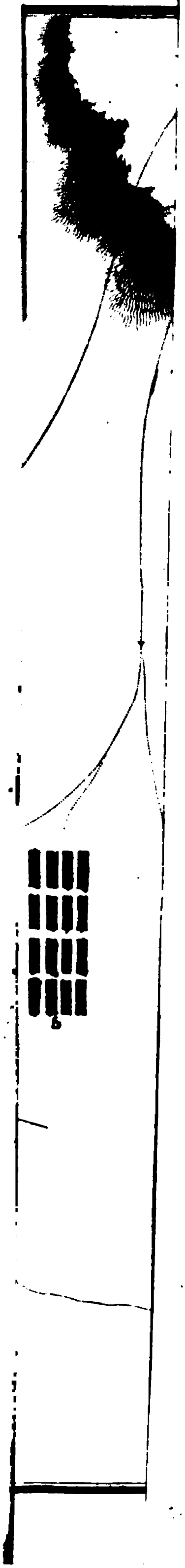
[*] Names of officers killed. Colonel Carreño, Lieutenant-Colonel Medina[†], Captain Urquiola; Lieutenants, Oliva, Colmenares, Ramirez, Bonilla, Sevilla, Prieto, Ramonet.

Wounded. Colonels, Silva, Luque, Leal; Lieutenant-Colonels, Leon, Blanco, Castillo, Gerardino; Majors, Torres, Sornoza; Captains, Ximenes, Coquis, Dorronzoro, Brown, Gil, Cordova, Urena, Dorronsoro, Landacta, Troyano, Alcala, Grenados, Miro; Lieutenants, Infantes, Silva, Suares, Vallarino, Otarola, French, Pedrahita, Pazaga, Ariscum, Otarola, J. Suares, Ornas, Posadas, Miranda, Montoya, Morena; Ensigns, Galindo, Chabur, Rodriguez, Malabe, Jeran, Perez, Calles, Marquina, Paredes, Sabino, Isa, Alvarado.

ABSTRACT.

	killed.	wounded.
Colonels	1	3
Lieutenant-Colonels	1	4
Majors	0	2
Captains	1	13
Lieutenants	7	16
Ensigns	0	12
Rank and file	360	559
Total	370	609

[†] Killed by the Indians of Huando on his way to Lima with General Sucre's despatch of the battle. Lieutenant-Colonel Medina was one of the bravest officers in the Colombian army. He had greatly distinguished himself at the affair of Junin.



vance and complete the victory. The mistake of the viceroy in attacking at all, originated in suffering himself to be impelled to it by the eagerness of his troops. Their patience had been worn out, by the terrible marches, which appeared to them to be endless. At Guamanguilla, a system of pasquinading had been adopted. The tents of La Serna, Canterac, and others, had various lampoons pasted on them, and it may be fairly said that they were goaded by their own soldiers into a general action contrary to their own judgment.

The royalists, upon regaining the heights of Condorkanki, rallied as many of their defeated troops as they possibly could. The patriot divisions La Mar and Lara gained the summit of the heights at about 1 P. M. Before sunset Canterac sued for terms, and an hour afterward rode down to the tent of Sucre, where a capitulation was agreed upon. The Viceroy La Serna, Generals Canterac, Valdez, Carratalà, Monet, Villalobos, Ferras, Bedoya, Somocursio*, Cacho, Atero, Landazuri, Garcia-Camba, Pardo, Vigil, and Tur; 16 colonels, 68 lieutenant-colonels, 484 officers, 3200 rank and file, became prisoners of war. The rest had dispersed.

The battle of Ayacucho was the most brilliant ever fought in South America. The troops on both sides were in a state of discipline which would have been creditable to the best European armies. The ablest generals and chiefs of either party were present, and it is difficult to say which army most panted for an appeal to the sword, as every man fought with undaunted bravery. What the patriots wanted in numbers was made up by enthusiasm, and by a perfect knowledge that, if beaten, retreat was utterly impracticable. It was not a victory of mere chance, but the result of the most determined valour, and of an irresistible onset, conceived and executed at the proper moment.

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* Struck dead by lightning on his way from Guamanga to Arequipa.

Sucre exposed himself during the action wherever his presence was required with the utmost *sang froid*, and his example produced its full effect. La Mar displayed the same qualities, and with energetic eloquence he rallied some corps that had given way, and reconducted them to the attack.

The heroism of General Cordova was the admiration of every one, and they beheld with satisfaction his promotion upon the field of battle to the rank of general of division, at the age of twenty-five years. General Lara was conspicuous for activity and exertion. General Gamarra displayed his usual tact. Colonel O'Connor, adjutant-general, Colonel Plaza, the commanding officers of corps, and indeed the officers and men, with hardly an exception, behaved with a valour and zeal as if each imagined that the issue of the battle depended upon his own individual exertion. Colonels Caravajal and Silva, Lieutenant-Colonels Suares, Blanco, Braun, Medina, and Olavarria, who displayed so much valour at Junin, again distinguished themselves at Ayacucho. Captain Don Juan Alarcon, aide-de-camp to General Miller, behaved extremely well upon this occasion, as he had done on many others. He was of aboriginal descent, but very well educated. He was unassuming, meritorious, and hard-working.

So many horses had been left dead or dying on the road during the retreat from Lambrama, that twenty-five hussars of the regiment of Junin were mounted on baggage mules, merely to make a display. When the regiment charged they were ordered to remain in the rear, but they answered, "No, we will conquer or die with our comrades." In fact, they very speedily exchanged their jaded mules, for horses taken from the enemy.

In the course of this charge, the hussars caught sight of the horse which Miller had lost at Chuquibamba. The rider, an orderly of Valdez, was cut down, and the charger restored to its former master.

About the same moment a royalist officer called out to Miller, "Señor, Señor, I surrender to you. Don't you remember me?" He was immediately recognised as Captain Frias of the Cantabria regiment, whom Commodore Blanco sent on shore six years before, as a matter of courtesy, in exchange for Miller when he returned on board the San Martin, as described in the account of the capture of the Maria Isabel, off Talcahuano. Miller was unable to stop at that moment, and not having had the satisfaction of seeing Captain Frias afterwards, it is probable he was among the slain.

The men, of one squadron, and all the officers of a royalist cavalry regiment, wore silver helmets. These became the objects of the particular attention of the patriot soldiers, during the pursuit. Some had the presence of mind to save themselves, by throwing off these gorgeous casques, which, like the golden apples of Hippomenes, did not fail to arrest the progress of their pursuers. These silver baits proved as irresistible to the patriot soldiers, as the apples to Atalanta. In a few hours every silver helmet had changed, not exactly heads, but owners; for all were broken up and stowed away in the valises of the captors.

As Miller returned from the pursuit of Valdez, to the field of Ayacucho, he passed several groups of royalist prisoners. Many of them called out to him, "Do you not know us, *mi mayor*, *mi comandante*, *mi coronel?*" according to the rank which he had held, when those men happened to serve under him in the patriot ranks, previously to their becoming prisoners, and compelled to fight on the opposite side.

On one part of the field lay upwards of thirty royalist grenadiers. From the regular manner in which the bodies were grouped, it was evident that they must have made a noble stand, and fallen, at nearly the same moment, in their original formation at the head of a column. Near this place Miller overtook his friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Prieto, of the legion, who had just succeeded in finding, and was carrying off, the stripped and lifeless body of his brother, a remarkably fine lad, only nineteen years of age. Poor Prieto was deeply affected by his brother's death, but said that he felt some consolation in the reflection that he had fallen gloriously; for "see here," said he, pointing to the breast where the fatal ball entered; "and look at this other," pointing to a deep bayonet wound: "my poor brother must have been close to his enemies, and both his wounds were received in front." This young man, a native of Guayaquil, was a lieutenant in the Colombian battalion Pinchincha. Miller perceiving indications of military talent, united to the most patriotic enthusiasm, had, in the year 1822, invited him to accept a commission in the legion, of which his elder brother was already a captain, and who warmly seconded the invitation; but he was so much a Colombian, that nothing could induce him to wear the cockade of Peru, although engaged in the same common cause.

Miller continued to be occupied on various duties till a very late hour. About midnight he visited the captive viceroy, La Serna, who had been placed in one of the best of the miserable habitations of Quinua. When Miller entered, he found the viceroy sitting on a bench, and leaning against the mud wall of the hut. A glimmering from the wick of a small earthen lamp threw enough of glare around to render visible his features, which were shaded by his white hair, still partially clotted with blood from the wound he had received. His person, tall and at all times dignified, now appeared most venerable and interesting. The attitude, the situation, and the scene altogether, was precisely that which an historical painter would have chosen to represent the dignity of fallen greatness. Reflecting on the vicissitudes of fortune, it may be imagined with what feelings Miller advanced towards the man, who, but a few hours previously, had exercised a kingly power. The viceroy was the first to speak, and holding out his hand, said, "*You*, general, we all know full well: we have always considered you as a *personal* friend, notwithstanding all the mischief you have done, and the state of alarm in which you have so repeatedly kept us. In spite of my misfortunes, I rejoice to see you." The viceroy afterwards observed, that a sentry had been placed, as he supposed by some mistake, in the same room with him, and that, in the confusion and hurry of the time, his own wound had not been even washed. Miller immediately ordered the guard outside, and sent for a surgeon. When the wound was dressed, Miller, in tendering his farther services, told the viceroy, that the only refreshment he had it in his power to offer was a little tea, which he happened to have in his canteen, and which he believed no other person in the army could supply. The viceroy, enfeebled by loss of blood, appeared to revive at the very mention of this beverage. He said, " it is indeed the only thing I could now take. One cup of it would reanimate me, and keep me from sinking." When the tea was brought, the venerable viceroy drank it with eagerness, and was perhaps more grateful for this seasonable relief than for any kindness or favour he had ever received. He expressed his acknowledgments in the warmest terms to Miller, who felt peculiar gratification in having it in his power to pay this small attention to the distinguished prisoner. He had been long before informed that the viceroy had declared, that in the event of his (Miller's) being taken prisoner, he should be treated as a brother, and furnished with means to return to his own country. This condition, however, Miller certainly would not have consented to unless he had been left free to rejoin the Peruvian army after residing a given time in England.

La Serna commenced his career in the artillery, and, when lieutenant-colonel, served under Palafox, at Saragoza, in 1809. La Serna, created Conde de los Andes on the very day of the battle of Ayacucho, has withdrawn from public life, and resides in his native town of Xeres de la Frontera in Andalusia.

After taking leave of the viceroy, Miller called upon Sucre, where he found Canterac and some Spanish officers who had accompanied him to Quinua, to arrange the terms of the capitulation. They took up their quarters in Miller's hut for the remainder of the night. Amongst these was Lieutenant-Colonel Bobadilla, who has been mentioned in the account of the capture of Valdivia. He is a lively, entertaining man, and of very good address. The guests laid themselves down upon the earthen floor, where it was difficult to find a dry spot, as the rain pelted through several parts of the roof; notwithstanding which, they all soon fell asleep, with the exception of Canterac and Miller, who conversed for some time on the varying events of this last campaign. The former was in a state of great excitement, and repeatedly exclaimed, "General Miller—General Miller—all this appears to be a dream! How strange is the fortune of war! Who would have said twenty-four hours ago, that I should have been your guest? but it cannot be helped: the harassing war is now over, and, to tell you the truth, we were all heartily tired of it."

General Canterac is a Frenchman, whose parents emigrated to Spain in 1792. He first served in the Spanish artillery, and then in the cavalry. When a subaltern he was a good deal employed in active partisan warfare, and signalized himself by his intelligence and bravery. On one occasion, when General Sir Charles Doyle went to take Bagur by a coup-de-main, in order to draw off the attention of the French from O'Donnell, Canterac proceeded, with a few dragoons for the same purpose, with extraordinary rapidity and secrecy, to Gerona. He penetrated to the very gates of the town, alarmed the garrison and neighbourhood by firing a number of shots, and succeeded in carrying off two French sentries. The attention of the French was arrested for half a day by the daring exploit of Canterac, and drawn off for twenty-four hours by the successful enterprise of the gallant Doyle. Canterac served on the staff of O'Donnell, and would not have been selected by that brave general had he not possessed great valour and intelligence. Canterac is a disciplinarian, an excellent tactician, and possesses a fine address. He is turned of forty, is unemployed at present, and resides at Valladolid, where he has lately married.

The next morning (the 10th of December) Colonel Althaus, whom we have not long ago seen taken prisoner with his milk-white mule, made his appearance. He had been conducted from Chuquibamba to the royalists' head-quarters, and had accompanied them in all their movements. He had witnessed from the heights of Condorkanki the animating scene that had taken place below, and was as happy to rejoin his patriot comrades as they were to receive him, and to listen to an entertaining budget of new adventures. Althaus had been treated with kindness by the royalist chiefs, who had been as much amused, as they were provoked, by the dry humour with which he met, and evaded, every question intended to elicit information as to the actual strength of the patriots. This meritorious officer has since married a Peruvian lady of rank and fortune, and has settled in Arequipa.

On the same morning (of the 10th) Miller saw a Spanish officer approaching his quarters, in company with Sucre. The royalist, a small spare person, with a slight inclination to stoop, wore a broad-brimmed hat, of vicuña beaver, a coarse gray surtout, and long brown worsted leggings. When he came near, his sparkling keen eyes enlivened a sunburnt, weather-beaten, but highly interesting countenance. Before Sucre had time to introduce him, he ran forward a few paces, and embraced Miller, saying, "I know who you are—I am Valdez:—you and I cannot but be friends." Then, turning to Sucre, he added, "This Miller has often kept us upon the move. They called *me* active; but *he* was like a wizard (*bruxo*), here, there, and every where, without our ever being able to penetrate his designs, ascertain his numbers, or find out what he was about, until he had dealt out some sly blow (*hasta que nos habia pegado algun chasco*)."

General Valdez, born (1786) at Placentia, in Estremadura, was educated for the bar, but took arms on the French invasion of the Peninsula, and was a lieutenant in the army of General Cuesta in

1810. In the following year he was a captain and aide-de-camp to General Ballesteros. He was the adviser, and supposed to be the writer, of Ballasteros' remonstrance to the regency, upon their nominating Lord Wellington generalissimo. This opposition to the British general gained him popularity with many, but he incurred the displeasure of his government, and retired with Ballesteros on his removal from command. In 1813, Valdez was again employed, and served with distinction. On the restoration of Ferdinand, he retired to his native province. In 1815 he accompanied General La Serna to Peru as chief of the staff. His military genius is apparent from what has been stated in these memoirs. His disinterestedness is a trait which ought not to be passed over in silence. Latterly he never would receive pay. When he wanted money, he was accustomed to apply to the friend who was nearest at hand, and able to supply his immediate wants. On one occasion, when he was in the south, he sent to a merchant in Arequipa for three hundred dollars: five hundred were sent; but as Valdez did not want more than he had asked for, he returned the surplus by the bearer. He was so negligent of personal appearance, that he was generally indebted to his friends for the renovation of his wardrobe. The dress he wore, on the morning referred to, had been presented to him, the year before, by his own soldiers. His table was never supplied with any thing beyond his rations. He slept on a *poncho* or two, in the open air, at the head of his division, whenever it was on the march. The Spanish soldiers used to say of him, that "*en campaña el tio siempre está en casa.*" The *humour* of this phrase cannot be preserved in a translation. The literal meaning is, that this uncle of ours is always at home, or at hand, when campaigning.

As a public character, Valdez was considered violent, abrupt, overbearing, and uncourteous. He was feared by his officers, but idolized by his men. He is certainly a man of very superior mind, and possesses a degree of nerve that might have rendered him a worthy companion for a Charles the Twelfth, or a Suwarrow. Valdez is now second in command of the province of Arragon.

Miller had also the satisfaction of making the personal acquaintance of other distinguished royalists, to most of whom he had been opposed in the course of the war.

Many Spanish officers, availing themselves of the terms of the capitulation, received their passports, and set out for Spain by the way of Lima, Arequipa, or Buenos Ayres. A few remained to settle their own private affairs. Of the royalist soldiers, some entered the patriot battalions; but the greater part dispersed and returned to their homes.

From the important result of the battle of Ayacucho, it may be imagined that, had victory decided for the Spaniards, their triumph would have been as complete and conclusive as that of the patriots. But this supposition would be altogether erroneous. The liberating army might have been annihilated; all the chiefs commanding it might have been destroyed; and although, in that case, the Spaniards would, for a time, have carried every thing before them, yet they must have succumbed in the end. There was little chance of their receiving succours or supplies from Spain; and the repeated and daring efforts of other chiefs, and other armies, which would successively or simultaneously have sprung up, would have perpetually harassed and worn them out; and though the country might have been desolated, and misery have spread to its remotest corners, the cause of independence must have eventually proved triumphant.

The expiring effort of Olañeta in the south, and the gallant defence of Callao by Rodil, were merely additional evidence of the extraordinary perseverance with which the Spaniards endeavoured to retain, and the unwillingness with which they finally relinquished, their pertinacious grasp on the LAND OF THE SUN, the ONCE GLORIOUS EMPIRE OF THE INCAS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Patriots enter Cuzco.—Rejoicings.—Prophecy recorded by Garcilaso de la Vega.—Tradition of the origin of the Incas.—Their form of government.—Their policy.—Population previous to the conquest.—City of Cuzco.—Ruins.—Temple of the Sun.—Public edifices.—Summary of the history of Cuzco.—Compared with Rome.—Veneration in which the memory of the Incas is held.—Dress, manners, and customs of the Indians.—Description of the Coca.

General Sucre, determining to lose no time or advantage after the victory of Ayacucho, ordered General Gamarra to march with a Peruvian battalion from Guamanga for Cuzco, on the 12th of December. General Miller followed on the 16th.

On the march, many patriot soldiers, who, from wounds or sickness, had been unable to keep up with the army, and had managed to conceal themselves during the advance of the royalists, now came forth, and were re-attached to their respective corps. Amongst those who had been wounded and taken was Lieutenant Wyman, of the *usares de Junin*, whose gallantry and good conduct entitle him to notice.

Having failed in a desperate attempt to escape from his escort, he was treated with great severity. Not being able to sit upright on horseback, the Spaniards slung him across a raw-boned mule, and conducted him in this manner almost senseless for two days. On arriving at Abancay, he was supposed to be so near his end, that he was thrown upon a heap of rubbish at the door of a hut, and left to die. A poor Indian woman, under cover of the night, with the assistance of her son, removed the almost lifeless body, and concealed it until the royalists marched away, after which she watched over the unfortunate Wyman with the greatest care and solicitude, administering all the aid her scanty means would allow.

Upon Miller's entering Abancay, about ten days afterwards, he was told that an Englishman was lying in a hovel, in the most deplorable condition. He hastened to visit him, and found Lieutenant Wyman stretched out upon a rug, which was saturated with his blood, and sticking fast to his festering wounds. The unfortunate youth was quite delirious, and so emaciated, that it was with difficulty the general could recognise the features of his young friend. He immediately supplied him with some linen and clothes, and left what money he had with him for the Indian Samaritan. Wyman recovered under her care, and is now a promising officer in the Peruvian service.

Gamarra entered Cuzco on Christmas-day, 1824, and was received with acclamations. Miller arrived a few hours after. The Peruvian division La Mar joined on the 30th, and those of Colombia, Cordova, and Lara, arrived a few days subsequently. Sucre attempted to enter the city incognito, but was recognised, and hailed with ardent *vivas*.

A complete jubilee followed, and many splendid entertainments were got up in compliment to the patriots. The balls were well attended by ladies, who were principally of the royalist party. They were accompanied by their husbands or brothers, who had held civil or military employment under the king. Amongst the military were several general and other officers, who had capitulated after the battle of Ayacucho. At a grand dinner, given by the clergy of San Antonio, to the Peruvian generals La Mar, Gamarra, and Miller, the proposal to drink the health of the last was prefaced by a complimentary interpretation of a tradition, construing his arrival at the ancient capital of the Incas into a partial verification of the prophecy recorded by Garcilaso de la Vega (born at Cuzco eight years after the conquest), as well as by Calandra, author of the Chronicles of Saint Augustine, and by Herrera in his Decades. "Deum ego testor, mihi a Don Antonio de Berreo affirmatum, quemadmodum etiam ab aliis cognovi, quòd in præcipuo ipsorum templo, inter alia vaticinia quæ de amisione regni loquuntur, hoc enim sit, quod dicitur fore ut Ingæ sive imperatores et reges Peruviæ, ab aliquo populo qui ex regione quâdam quæ Inclaterra vocetur, in regnum suum rursus introducantur*."

The city of Cuzco is situated one hundred leagues from the coast, and, in 1825, contained above forty thousand inhabitants. It was founded by Manco Capac, the first Inca of Peru, about the tenth or eleventh century.

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* "I declare, before God, that it was affirmed to me by Don Antonio de Berreo, as well as by others whom I knew, that, amongst other prophecies, in their chief temple, which spoke of the loss of the empire, there was one which declared that it would come to pass, that the incas, or emperors, or kings, of Peru, would be restored to their throne by a certain people from a country called Inglaterra" (England).

But before attempting to describe some of the most remarkable features of that interesting capital, we shall recount one of the traditional fables as to the origin of the incarial race, and draw a brief outline of their ancient policy and laws. In conformity with the general rule by which most nations and heroes claim a supernatural origin, the Peruvians pretend, that their Incas descended from the sun. The source of their belief is thus explained. It is said that a white man was cast away upon the coast of Peru, and was received and adopted by a cacique, whose daughter, although blind from her birth, the stranger married, and by her had a son and a daughter. It is supposed that he taught his children something of agriculture, architecture, and, perhaps, some other arts, until then unknown in Peru. The white man and his Peruvian wife both dying, the cacique took his grandchildren to a mountain overlooking the thickly-peopled valley of Cuzco*: he then descended, and assembled the inhabitants, to whom he declared that their god, the sun, had taken pity upon them, and sent two of his own children to instruct and govern them: that they would find them upon the mountain, and that the truth of his assertion would be proved by the hair of the young man and woman being actually of the colour of the sun's beams. But the *Cuzqueños*, however, imagining that the light hair and fair complexion had been produced by witchcraft, banished the brother and sister to the valley of Rimac. Thence the cacique afterwards removed his *golden-haired* grandchildren to an island in the lake of Titicaca, where he luckily found the inhabitants more easy of belief. Persevering in his original intention of aggrandizing and deifying his family, the cacique counselled his grandson to assemble the whole population of the island, and to return at their head to Cuzco. The inhabitants of the latter, seeing the fair-haired strangers return, followed by a powerful multitude, quietly submitted; acknowledged them as children of the sun; and proclaimed them Incas. The city of Cuzco then gradually arose.

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* Cuzco is the corruption of Ccozccoo, which means navel, or centrical.

We will leave it to antiquarians to decide upon the probability of an Englishman's having been thrown upon the coast of Peru 800 years ago. *Quichuan* etymologists affirm that the cacique, on asking the shipwrecked stranger who he was, received for answer, " Englishman." This was pronounced in the *Quichua* language Ingasman. To this was added *Cocopac* (or blooming), which united would make Ingasman-cocopac, which, say the Peruvians, is the derivation of Inca Manco-Capac, the founder of the incarial race.

The government of the Incas was a pure despotism, but so modified, by patriarchal customs and institutions, that Peru advanced rapidly in the arts as well of peace as of war, and flourished during the unblemished lives of eleven successive sovereigns. The destructive civil war, which brought about the murder of Huascar, by his yet more unfortunate half-brother Atahualpa, cast the first stain upon their, until then, blameless annals.

The happiness of the people appears to have been the main object of the policy and solicitude of the Incas. Even their conquests would seem to have been undertaken with no other view. Gold and silver were used for ornamental purposes alone, and were not known as a circulating medium. The produce of the earth was enjoyed in common. The whole was divided by proper officers, into four portions, The first was destined to the support of the widow, the orphan, and the helpless. The second to the maintenance of the priests and virgins of the sun, the construction or adorning of temples, and to provide for whatever else appertained to, the most innocent of all idolatries, the worship of the refulgent orb of day. The third quarter was appropriated to the community. The fourth maintained, in more than regal splendour, the Inca and the incarial family, which, in the course of ages, became exceedingly numerous : polygamy being permitted to the Incas, their progeny soon spread in endless ramifications over the provinces. So numerous indeed was the incarial race, that the virgins of the sun were, for the most part, daughters of the blood royal. The Incas spoke a language which was not permitted to be taught even to the nobles, much less the people : and, what is very remarkable, messages in the family language were transmitted *viva voce* from one end of the empire to the other, by means of *chasquis*, or messengers on foot, stationed at certain intervals, not one of these understanding the import of this sort of telegraphic communication, which sometimes passed through above a hundred mouths, and over many hundred leagues. The language of the Incas was lost in a generation or two after the conquest. That now spoken by the aborigines is the *Quichua*, or general language of the ancient Peruvians.

In the reign of Huaina Capac (tenth Inca), the empire extended from the northern confines of Quito to the river Maule in Chile, a distance from north to south of nearly forty degrees, and from the shores of the Pacific to the pampas of Tucuman. Its population is supposed to have exceeded ten millions. Humboldt, misled by the authority of Father Cisneros, states that, in 1575, it amounted to only 1,500,000. This could only have related to the number of *males between the ages of eighteen and fifty*, subject to tribute; for, according to the general census made in that year, by Archbishop Loaiza, by order of Philip the Second, the grand total of the population amounted to 8,280,000.

On the invasion of Pizarro, the Peruvians were found to have attained a high degree of civilization, much higher, indeed, than any other nation was ever known to have reached prior to the use of letters, or graphic records. Wonderful remains of works of utility prove their knowledge, skill, and extraordinary industry. In many of the provinces, the sides of lofty hills, or rather mountains, are cased round with terraces, or hanging gardens, as they have elsewhere been called, which rise one above another to a surprising elevation. The terraces are faced with rough irregular stone, and, although of inconsiderable width, cover the sides of such high and extensive mountains, that they alone must have produced subsistence for a very considerable population. Those terraced strips of land were by the Peruvians called Andenes, which probably induced the conquerors to give the name of Andes to the entire mighty ridge of mountains, or *cordillera*, which stretches from the straits of Magellan to the isthmus of Panama. The *Andenes* are often to be seen in districts where rain never falls, and how they could have been irrigated is now unknown.

In the lower ground, what are now desert levels of many leagues square were once irrigated by immense *axequias*, which conveyed abundance of water, giving fertility to tracts at present condemned to absolute barrenness. In several places may be seen the ruins of well-built cities, which cover more ground than modern Lima or Madrid. Some of them are upwards of twenty miles from the nearest supply of water.

The crumbling remains of numerous fishing villages on the border of the Pacific, prove, that the ocean was made to contribute extensively to the wants or luxuries of the people. By means of the messengers before described, the tables of the incarial family at Cuzco were regularly supplied with sea fish. The subterraneous *axequias* of Nasca are worthy of investigation. How far they extend is not known, but it is supposed that the Peruvians drove an adit horizontally until they met with a perennial spring. The valley of Nasca depends exclusively upon water thus obtained. The desert north and south of it is nearly a hundred miles in breadth. The underground aqueducts are lined with uncemented masonry. From the bottom of the channel to the crown of the arch is about four or five feet, and about three feet in width. Many of them are now choked up; but a sufficient number remain to give amazing fertility to the valley of Nasca, where the vine, which is extensively cultivated, is often equal in girth to an elm of thirty years' growth.

The valley of Santa once contained a population of seven hundred thousand souls: it now numbers only seven hundred, according to the account given by the governor in 1824. Acari once reckoned sixty thousand inhabitants: it now contains but six thousand, the greatest part of which are negro slaves. Acari is a corruption of Nacari, which signifies tribulation, and is the spot to which offenders and criminals were formerly exiled.

It appears that the Peruvians never built a town on, or suffered a single house to occupy, a spot that was susceptible of cultivation.

The monuments which in Cuzco still survive the destructive barbarity of its conquerors attest, more strongly than the concurring accounts of early Spanish authors, the power, the splendour, and the civilization of the people by whom they were erected. The extent and magnificence of this city arose, in a great measure, from one singular and striking trait in the policy of the Incas. Every tribe or nation of which their vast empire was composed was allowed (on being conquered) to add a new division to the city. Those who, from commercial, political, or other views, chose to reside or settle in the capital, were permitted to do so, in the full enjoyment of their own language, usages, and costume. These aggregations were rendered the more numerous by a regulation which obliged the youth of certain superior classes to be sent from all parts of the empire to be educated in the capital. The administration of distant provinces, inhabited by warlike tribes, could thus be intrusted with safety to men regularly initiated into the science of government, under the immediate superintendence of the reigning Inca, whom they were taught both to love and fear. Moreover, these sons of noble families became hostages for the good conduct of their parents, whose rank and influence might occasionally dispose them to treasonable or ambitious views.

In the education of the Peruvians, the blended code of morality and of legislation was no less simple than beneficial to the greater number. Three concise precepts formed the foundation of the whole system, AMA SUA—AMA QUALLA—AMA LLULLA. Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not lie, thou shalt not be idle. Upon these first principles was founded the code of civil laws, which embraced the whole wants and relations of civil society, and extended from the partitionary laws, which divided the lands with the most exact proportions and impartiality, to the sumptuary edicts, which graduated the expenditure, not only of the lower and middle classes, but of the highest orders in the state. Children were compelled to follow the calling of their fathers, unless otherwise authorized by the local governors. Peruvians were not allowed to remove permanently from their native districts, unless the government thought it expedient to order unpeopled tracts within the empire to be colonized, for the purpose of thinning other provinces where the population had become too dense.

The same code also contained, what were denominated, *laws of brotherhood*, to provide mutual assistance in the common wants of life; *laws of hu-*

manity, to succour the sick, the aged, the weakly, the maimed, and the unfortunate; and *laws of hospitality*, which provided, at the public expense, for the necessities of the stranger and the traveller.

Magistrates were appointed solely for the purpose of inspecting domestic economy, and were armed with powers not only to remedy any deficiency in regard to dress, cleanliness, or education, on the part of the parents towards their children; but also to enforce obedience, respect, and support from children towards their parents.

These evidently were laws which waged perpetual war against idleness and vice. They provided even for the employment of children, from five years old and upwards, in occupations adapted to their age and station in the community: thus endeavouring to make their infantine labours beneficial to the public which maintained them.

The city of Cuzco is built upon uneven ground, in the midst of a fertile and very extensive valley. The numerous ravines in its neighbourhood are highly cultivated, and by means of irrigation preserve an aspect of luxuriant verdure throughout the year. Twenty leagues to the eastward commence the territories inhabited by unsubdued tribes, who allow no stranger to penetrate into their country.

Of the temple of the sun at Cuzco, there only remain some walls of singular construction, upon which is raised the convent of Santo Domingo, a most magnificent structure.

The royal gardens formerly belonging to the temple of the sun, and once the repository of the favourite animals and birds of the Incas, who delighted in extensive menageries, were crowded with massive ornaments in gold and silver, many of them representing gigantic shrubs and flowers. Where these gardens stood are now enclosures of lucern and corn-fields. The chambers, formerly the residence of the virgins of the sun, are now occupied by *holy* friars.

Not far from the temple is the spot where the first Spaniards formed their *quartel* or intrenched encampment, in which, whenever overpowered by numbers, they took refuge, and sustained a siege. According to monastic tradition, the Peruvians on one occasion set fire to the defences, but at the moment the besieged were on the point of perishing, the Virgin Mary descended in a cloud to their succour; extinguished the flames, and gave a decisive victory to the exterminating propagators of the holy catholic faith. The cathedral erected near this spot exists in pristine splendour, and contains a chapel, called *Nuestra Señora del triunfo*, built to commemorate this miracle.

Upon a lofty hill, a little to the north of the city, stands the ruins of a mighty fortress, many parts of the walls of which are still in perfect preservation. They are built of stones of extraordinary magnitude; of polyangular[*] shapes; and of different dimensions, placed one upon another without any sort of cement, but fitted with such nicety as not to admit the insertion of a needle between them. It is surprising, and still unexplained, how or by what machinery the Peruvians could have conveyed and raised these enormous masses to such heights; and it is equally extraordinary how the diversified angles of the blocks could have been fitted with such minute precision.

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[*] This polyangular construction, without cement, is by European antiquarians denominated the Cyclopean; they supposing it to be very much antecedent to the authentic records of Grecian history, and that the Cyclops, the fabled first inhabitants of Sicily, were the authors of it. The most perfect and complete Cyclopean polyangular fabric is to be found at Arpinum in the Abruzzi (Samnia), the birth-place of Cicero and Caius Marius; the walls, citadel, and gates of which town are in this style of building, and in as perfect preservation as if the architect had just finished his work. The gateways, instead of being arched, are formed by huge stones of from ten to fifteen tons each, being overlaid about two feet in succession, until they meet at the apex, over which is

The cathedral, the convents of St. Augustine and of La Merced, are stupendous buildings, inferior in architecture and magnificence to few ecclesiastical structures in the old world.

The walls of many of the houses have remained unaltered for centuries. The great size of the stones, the variety of their shapes, and the inimitable workmanship they display, give to the city that interesting air of antiquity and romance, which fills the mind with pleasing though painful veneration, and excite feelings of abhorrence and regret that any portion of such admirable specimens of the arts, which in days so far remote flourished among the subjects of the children of the sun, should have been defaced or destroyed by the wanton barbarity of Europeans.

Perhaps the history of Cuzco could not be comprised in a more brief and interesting summary than is contained in a letter written by Colonel O'Leary, in 1825, of which the following is an extract:

"Cuzco interests me highly. Its history, its fables,

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laid a block of enormous dimensions. The ancient Roman paved roads, such as the Via Appia, &c. &c. are precisely of a similar construction, except that we may call them horizontal instead of vertical Cyclopean walls. The stones of the walls of Cuzco have seldom fewer than from six to nine angles; sometimes more.

its ruins, are enchanting. This city may with truth be called the Rome of America. The immense fortress on the north is the Capitol. The temple of the sun is its Coliseum. Manco Capac was its Romulus, Viracocha its Augustus, Huascar its Pompey, and Atahualpa its Cæsar. The Pizarros, Almagros, Valdivias, and Toledos, are the Huns, Goths, and Christians who have destroyed it. Tupac Amàru is its Belisarius, who gave it a day of hope. Pumacágua is its Rienzi and last patriot."

Such is the veneration in which the Indians hold the memory of their Incas, that in many provinces they wear mourning for them to the present time.

The dress of an aboriginal Peruvian female is a loose garment of dark coarse woollen cloth, extending from the neck to the ankle, and confined at the waist by a broad, coloured belt. A small cloth mantle is folded and laid flat upon the crown of the head, so as to leave a part of it dropping down to the shoulders behind, something like that which is still common to the female peasantry of the neighbourhood of Rome. The drapery worn as mourning is the *anaco*, a narrow black scarf, which is tacked to the right shoulder, and, passing across the bosom, is fastened below the left arm, and reaches to the extremity of the garment.

The dress of the men is a dark woollen jacket, with breeches open at the knees; a woollen cap, embroidered with various-coloured cotton; a cotton belt, two or three inches broad; woollen stockings without feet, and sandals made of goatskin. A small poncho is either worn in the usual manner, or tied round the waist as a sash, or thrown so as to dangle over the shoulder like the hussar pelisse.

The Peruvians retain some of the customs of their forefathers. If a hut is to be built, or at any other undertaking of more than usual importance, the whole neighbourhood will work for the man requiring assistance. But these calls upon mutual benevolence were latterly of rare occurrence, because the Spanish laws restricted their actions and their possessions to limits which effectually prevented their ever enjoying more than a bare subsistence. They are become negligent in their persons, and the lower class seldom take off their clothes to sleep. They have a common saying that "El agua es indigno, y el jabon traidor." That is, water is unworthy of hands and face, and soap is a betrayer. An appearance of comfort might invite extortion; or perhaps the extreme aridity of the climate in the interior may be one of the causes of this antipathy to cleanliness. The skin of the face of a newly arrived European peels off, and the lips swell, and become chapped to a very painful degree. Ablution is supposed to increase it. Very few of the royalist officers shaved, and many of them were adorned with beards as bushy and as long as those worn by the crusaders of old, or by the Turks of modern days.

The aborigines manifested their satisfaction on the entry of the patriots into Cuzco by the performance of solemn fêtes, most of which had been strictly forbidden by the Spaniards, as they all had some reference to their ancient Incas. They got up processions almost daily, in which their masks, their grotesque party-coloured dresses, and their lofty ostrich plumes, contrasting with the sad plaintive style of their music, formed a most interesting and illustrative exhibition. Their musical instruments consist of something like bagpipes, tambourines, drums, cowhorns, and a kind of Pandean pipe. They sang their *yaravis*, or plaintive ditties, while their mild dejected expression of countenance corresponded well with the mournful tune. Their very dances partook of the melancholy character which ages of misery have imparted to them. One of them is a sort of quadrille, in which eighteen or twenty persons gently glide through the figure with an air of innate placidity.

The Indians are very strong-limbed, and capable of enduring great fatigue. Their every-day pedestrian feats are truly astonishing. Guides perform a long journey at the rate of twenty or twenty-five leagues a day. Their usual pace is a jog trot. They take short steps, and carry their feet close to the ground. They go up and down mountain-sides quicker than a mule; and horsemen, whom they accompany as guides, have frequently occasion to call after them, to request them to slacken their pace. A battalion, eight hundred strong, has been known to march thirteen or fourteen leagues in one day, without leaving more than ten or a dozen stragglers on the road. The Indian subsists on a very small quantity of the simplest food. A leathern pouch containing *coca*, suspended from his neck, is worn next the breast. A handful or two of roasted maize is tied up in one corner of his poncho, and, in general, these are the only provisions for a very long day's journey.

The coca *(erythroxylon Peruvianum)* is a plant not unlike the vine, and grows to the height of six or eight feet. The leaves are aromatic and of a bitter flavour. They act as a sudorific; are a preservative to the teeth; and drive away sleep. They are gathered leaf by leaf with great care; and when used, the flavour is corrected by a very small addition of an alkali called *llipta.* To those unaccustomed to the use of the *coca,* it produces slight inflammation of the tongue. But it is the first thing which an Indian puts into his mouth upon waking in the morning. He swallows the saliva, and as mastication goes on, he replenishes the quid, which is never taken out, excepting at meal times, until he goes to bed. Nothing obtains the good will of an Indian sooner than his being requested to spare a little *coca.* He pulls out his pouch with an air of the utmost satisfaction, and seems anxious to have it supposed he feels the honour most sensibly. Miller often chewed it during the campaign of 1824; and this circumstance produced so favourable an impression amongst the aborigines that it procured him many volunteers. An English merchant travelling in the interior, found it convenient to announce himself as "the countryman of Miller," because the usual answer was, "a countryman of Miller's must have the best house and the best fare that an Indian village can afford."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Events consequent on the capitulation of Ayacucho.—The ultra royalist Olañeta refuses to come to terms.—Patriot division marches to the south.—Department of Puno.—Mine of Salcedo.—Account of the Callavayas, or itinerant physicians.—General Miller leaves the prefecture of Puno for that of Potosi.—Naval operations.—Callao.—Difficulties encountered by the army in the mountain regions.—Obstacles which delayed the accomplishment of emancipation.

RETURNING to the narrative of the campaign: about one thousand royalist troops, forming the garrison of Cuzco, under General Alvarez, a native of Buenos Ayres, surrendered on the 25th December, 1824, in conformity to the capitulation of Ayacucho. Upon La Serna's being taken prisoner, the royalist General Don Pio Tristan assumed the title of viceroy, and made some efforts to maintain himself in that character; but, disappointed in his hopes of support from Don Tadeo Garrate, he submitted to his countrymen, of whom he and Garrate had been for so many years the unnatural and unrelenting oppressors. Tristan, who shamefully broke his parole in 1813, surrendered with a small garrison at Arequipa to Colonel Otéro, sent from Guamanga to that city, of which department the latter was then named prefect. Garrate fled from his government of Puno, to avoid being torn to pieces by the justly enraged populace.

As soon as the prisoners of war confined in the island of Chucuito heard of the victory of Ayacucho, they rose upon and overpowered the royalist garrison; and General Alvarado, who was a prisoner in the town of Puno, placing himself at their head, took possession of the country to the southward as far as the bridge of the Incas.

The ultra royalist General Olañeta, with about four thousand troops in the provinces of Upper Peru, still refusing to come to terms, General Sucre wrote to him on the 1st of January, apprising him of the battle and capitulation of Ayacucho, and of the intended advance of the patriots. He informed him that Bolivar wished the troops of Olañeta to be considered as forming a part of the liberating army, and that those who had rendered services to Peru by their late opposition to the authority of La Serna should be liberally recompensed: but Olañeta, aspiring to the viceroyalty, and calculating upon the cordial assistance of Tristan and Garrate, refused to listen to any proposals.

Sucre having allowed his troops to rest a fortnight in Cuzco, and having re-clothed them as well as so short a period would permit, determined upon annihilating, without further delay, the few remaining enemies of independence. Accordingly, in the third week of January, the division of Peru continued its march upon Puno. The cavalry and Colombian division Cordova followed some days afterwards. That of Lara remained a few weeks at Cuzco, and then marched to Arequipa. Sucre entered Puno on the 1st of February. He soon afterwards learnt that the royalist garrisons of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, had declared for the patriots. He also learnt that the indefatigable Colonel Lanza, who, during nearly the whole struggle for independence, held possession of the valleys of Yungas, had entered La Paz.

The persevering and obstinate Olañeta, ably supported by his second in command, Colonel Valdez, surnamed *Barbarucho* (red beard), made every effort in the department of Potosi to hold out to the last. Reverses and desertions seemed but to increase their devotion to King Ferdinand.

General La Mar obtained leave of absence to proceed to Guayaquil. It is painful to add, that he left Peru without obtaining for the Peruvian officers, who had served under his command during the campaign, the promotion to which so very many of them were justly entitled, and which had been promised in long and almost daily harangues previous to the battle of Ayacucho. This neglect was the more mortifying, as a very general, and well-merited, promotion took place in the Colombian army. It was the bounden duty of the general commanding the Peruvian troops, not only to have claimed the promotion due to his officers, but to have manfully insisted upon this unquestionable right; and if refused, to have made it clear and manifest that he had fearlessly performed so sacred a duty. His promises to the soldiers had been equally profuse, and were equally unfulfilled. No deference to Colombian supremacy ought to have deterred him from asserting his claims, nor should any contingent promises have induced him to relax in his endeavours.

Gamarra was appointed prefect and commandant-general of Cuzco, his native city. The division of Peru continued its march for Potosi, that of Cordova followed to La Paz. Miller was appointed prefect and commandant-general of the department of Puno, where he arrived on the 4th of February.

The department of Puno is composed of the five provinces of Guancani, Lampa, Asangaro, Caravaya, and Chucuito. It contains about three hundred thousand souls, five-sixths of whom are aborigines. Puno, the capital, has about seven thousand inhabitants. The surface of the country is nearly all table land, and in few places less than ten thousand feet above the level of the sea. The climate is cold, as compared with the coast, and very healthy. Its productions are cattle, in great abundance, barley, always cut green for horses, and potatoes. It has also some manufactories of woollens, and supplies Arequipa and Lima with these articles. The llama, the vicuña, the guanáco, and the alpáca, are very numerous in this district. The llama is peculiar to the Peruvian Andes, and of great use, particularly on roads impassable for mules, or in places where forage is scarce. It is said to be a link in the animal kingdom between the camel and the sheep. It is woolly, and of various colours. It is employed in carrying ores from the mines, charcoal, corn, &c. If the load exceed eighty pounds, or if the llama be made to perform more than three or four leagues a day, it becomes sulky and dejected, and lies down, and dies. One of the great advantages of using the llama is, that two or three pounds of straw will suffice it for twenty-four hours. It will not travel at night. It is remarkable that, if offended, it will spit at its keeper or driver, and the person who feeds it, as well as at a stranger. The llama is subject to attacks of ague when driven to the sultry districts on the coast. Alpácas are kept in flocks for the sake of their wool. The vacuña, more elegant and more graceful, perhaps, than the antelope, runs wild upon the Andes. Some attempts have been made to bring them to Great Britain, for the purpose of naturalizing them in the coldest districts of Scotland; but the animals put on board ship have never weathered the heat of the tropics, and seldom lived to reach so far north as the line *.

Puno has many mines of silver. The most noted is that of Laycacota, or of Salcedo, as it is now called, from the name of its first proprietor. In 1740, Ulloa gave the following account of it:

" The silver extracted from this rich mine was so pure, that it was most commonly cut out of the lode with a chisel. José de Salcedo was liberal and charitable in proportion to his good fortune, and the great riches he drew from the mine; for which reason many persons repaired to that place, in order to enjoy the benefits of his generosity, and they became in a short time so numerous as to people that mine territory. But as they were not all inclined to work, they disagreed, and formed two parties, so numerous that they became armies, and fought several battles;

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* There is a llama and an alpáca in the zoological garden in the Regent's Park. The former is not a handsome specimen. Mr. Barclay, of Bury Hill, has a much finer one. There is a guanáco at Exeter Change.

the most famous of which took place on the plain of Laycacota, in which a considerable number was slain on both sides. But neither this loss nor the fear of the consequences sufficed to quiet these disturbances, which continued until serious and proper steps were taken to put a stop to them."

The Count de Lemus being appointed viceroy, made his entry into Lima in 1667, at the time in which the riots of Puno were at their greatest height. "Being unable," continues Ulloa, "to appease the sedition by the orders he gave, he resolved to proceed in person in order to quell it. Having arrived at Puno in 1669, he took many prisoners, and ordered the most guilty to be executed. He sent José de Salcedo, the owner of the rich mine just mentioned, prisoner to los Reyes (Lima), where he was tried, condemned to die, and executed. On this condemnation there were different opinions; but the most impartial were persuaded that jealousy and the envy of his riches occasioned his death. For although the fame of his mine and liberality had induced so many people to assemble in that place, yet he had taken no part in the contest, nor was he observed to be more inclined to one party than to the other. But many, desirous of stripping him of the treasure which his good fortune had procured for him, preferred such charges against him that he appeared at his trial to be the most guilty of all, and therefore he could not escape the punishment arising from the evidence.

"So great was the liberality of Salcedo that the memory of it has been preserved among the Peruvians as most extraordinary. Among the many instances of his generosity, it is recorded that whenever any needy Spaniard, without any trade or employment, arrived in the kingdom, and asked Salcedo for relief, he gave him permission to enter into the mine, and to retain whatever silver he could extract, during the time he was allowed to stay there; thus limiting the amount of the donation to the extent of his own good fortune. If the Spaniard was lucky in hitting upon a rich vein, and a place where he could manage to cut, he derived considerable advantage; but even if otherwise, his prize was never so trivial as to give him any reason to be unthankful. This munificent generosity, carried to such a pitch, had attracted so many people to that place as to cause Salcedo's good intention to be misrepresented, to occasion his death, and put an end to the assistance which the necessitous received from him.

"After the execution of Salcedo, the viceroy wished the working of the mine to be resumed; but he was much surprised when he was informed that it was so full of water as to render it incapable of being worked. It is a common idea in that country that, as soon as the owner of the mine was deprived of life, a considerable spring issued forth and overflowed it; by which the people were persuaded that it was a judgment from Heaven for the unjust sentence which had been inflicted on him, for the purpose of dispossessing him of his property. But without going beyond the bounds of nature, it is easy to account for the increase of water. It had previously flowed more or less into the mine, and the discontinuance of drawing it off produced an accumulation, and some disruption might have given rise to a considerable spring. Though some attempts were at that time made to carry off the water, they proved unsuccessful, from a proper adit not having been attempted to be opened, from a fear of the great difficulties which were to be surmounted, and of the necessity of cutting through many rocky strata to effect it."

A socabon or adit was at last, however, driven at the expense of the Marquess de Villá Rica, son of the first proprietor, above 700 varas, or nearly as many yards, and to within 60 varas of the perpendicular of the mine; but it was not finished, for want of sufficient funds.

In 1740, a company of native mine proprietors attempted to finish the socabon; but meeting with a mass of porphyry, they were unable to cut through it, and the socabon was abandoned a second time, after a million of dollars had been laid out upon it. Down to the commencement of the revolution in 1810, several other attempts were made to finish the socabon; but after driving the adit some additional length, every attempt ultimately failed from the want of money to prosecute the work.

This rich mine lay neglected until 1826, when it was granted to Colonel O'Brien*, and the work of the socabon has been resumed. The bed of porphyry was pierced at the rate of only about fifteen inches a week, but this obstruction having been overcome, the socabon is said to be advancing at a vara a week, and hopes are entertained, by the proprietor, that the riches of the Salcedo mine will be made once more available.

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* This officer, by birth an Irishman, has displayed a noble and disinterested enthusiasm, during ten years of active service, in the cause of South American independence, equalled only by his courage and humanity, which have acquired for him universal esteem.

During the insurrection of Tupac Amàru, the Cacique Ninacatari took the city of Chucuito, and destroyed the greater part of the archives. From three books which escaped the flames it appears that the ore extracted in one year (1663) from the mines of Salcedo called Laycacota, Caucharani, and Esquilachi, produced upwards of a million and a half of dollars, as proved by the amount of duties paid to the king, and exclusive of what might have been taken away without paying those duties.

Sixty or seventy years ago, a lady made a vow that she would build a church proportioned to the produce of her mines near Puno. The *Iglesia Matrix*, or principal church, built of stone, in a good style of architecture, is a magnificent monument of her piety and wealth.

San José Coronella, San Antonio, and Guayco, are also very rich mines on the slope of the same mountain which contains the Salcedo mines; but they have been flooded for many years. A socabon was driven at a great expense; however upon reaching the perpendicular of the mine of San José it was found to be above the level of the water, and consequently of no use. Another socabon was begun lower down, and driven three hundred varas, when want of funds put a stop to the work, which had reached three-fourths of the required length.

The mines of Puno possess the advantage of being situated in a department where labourers are numerous, and where the necessaries of life are comparatively cheap.

On the 12th of March, Sucre wrote from La Paz to Miller, ordering him to place himself at the head of the Peruvian division, which was on its march, to attack Olañeta, who, it appeared, was determined to hazard an action, notwithstanding that his forces had dwindled away to two thousand men. Miller was at this time confined to his bed, in consequence of an inflammation of an old wound in the side, brought on by over riding when visiting some of the provinces of the department he governed. Fortunately at La Paz (a distance of fifty-four leagues) an English surgeon, Dr. Nichol, resided. He was sent for, and upon his arrival at Puno made an incision in Miller's side which stopped an incipient mortification, and he recovered, It is a curious fact, that in all the provinces of the department of Puno not one regular medical man is known to exist. The aboriginal tribe of Callávayas, or Yungeños, are the only practitioners throughout a great portion of South America. The healing art has been transmitted in that tribe from father to son for ages immemorial. They are inhabitants of Charasani, Consata, and Quirbe, three places situated in the valleys and amongst the ravines of Larecaja, a district north of La Paz, on the slope of the most eastern of the five great ridges of the Andes. The Callavayas assemble periodically in great numbers, and scale the mountains, north-east of La Paz, which being clothed with immense forests, growing from the base to the summits, possess every variety of temperature, from the torrid to the frigid zone. The vegetable kingdom is there inconceivably varied and rich, and there the Callavayas collect their stock of barks, gums, balsams, resins, and other simples, possessing powerful medicinal virtues. Having stored their wallets, which they carry slung across their shoulders, with these drugs, the Callavayas set out on foot in parties of two or three, and traverse the mountains of Peru, Quito, and Chile, and the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, to the distance of five or six hundred leagues, exercising their vocation wherever their assistance is required. Two or three years are frequently taken up in making a single tour. Their approach to a house is often announced by the aromatic fragrance of their loads, before they themselves are seen. They are gifted with the loquaciousness of European charlatans, and, like them, extol the virtues of their remedies, and relate marvellous stories of their wonderful effects.

The Callavayas frequently perform remarkable cures, though the diseases they contend against are, from the simple habits of the patients, not of so complicated a nature as those entailed by luxury, and the excesses of more civilized society. The Callavayas observe an orthodox degree of mystery in the exercise of their profession, and, like the exorcists of old, avail themselves of the superstitions of the people, and attribute to witchcraft complaints of easy cure, in order to enhance the value of their own services, and to secure a proportionate fee. In travelling, they do not keep to the beaten track, but steer their course from place to place in the straightest possible line, over the summits of snow-covered ridges, across unpeopled table lands, pampas, and sandy or stony deserts. This sort of route is called *haque tuppu*, which means, *path of the Indian;* but perhaps, " as the crow flies," would be a more appropriate translation. These extraordinary people never sleep under cover, but stretch themselves on the bare ground, whether they halt for the night on the bleakest elevations, or in the sultry regions below. Although they do not carry any other clothes than those they wear, they do not suffer from the changes to which they are exposed. A robust constitution and constant health is usually the reward of their abstemiousness and actively regular habits. Longevity is indeed so common amongst them, that a person at thirty is considered a *lad*, at forty or fifty only he is called a man.

Miller set out from Puno on the 29th of March, having named Dr. Reyes his successor *ad interim;* but he was so weak, from the wound above spoken of not being closed, that he was obliged to be carried in a litter on the shoulders of Indians. From La Paz, being somewhat stronger, he proceeded on horseback, and entered Potosi on the 25th of April, 1825. Sucre was then at Chuquisaca, twenty-eight leagues north-east of Potosi. Miller now learnt that Olañeta had been mortally wounded at Tumusla, sixteen leagues south of the latter place, in an affray with a body of his own troops, who, headed by Colonel Medina Celi, had risen against their general. The few remaining adherents of Olañeta were speedily obliged to surrender;

and thus the whole of Peru was liberated from her enemies, excepting the garrison of Callao, which still held out, under the heroic Rodil. This general had refused to be included in the capitulation of Ayacucho, on the plea that the command of Callao had always exclusively depended upon the King of Spain, and that Canterac had no authority to stipulate for its surrender.

It has been stated that Bolivar quitted the liberating army two months previous to the battle of Ayacucho. His Excellency took up his residence at Chancay. Lima was permanently held by neither party, but was alternately in the possession of both; the royalists however retained it longer than the patriots, who generally confined their attempts to sending in a few montoneros, who seldom remained there for any considerable time.

The royalist colonel Don Mateo Ramires, the cowardly assassin of the wounded Major Gumer on the field near Ica, exercised his capriciously cruel propensities, whenever he happened to be the senior officer, during the intervals the royalists held Lima. He was accustomed to place himself in one of the balconies of his quarters, in the convent of La Merced, and it was a source of amusement to him, to order up any well-dressed persons who happened to be passing, and make his soldiers crop their hair very close, because, as he said, that it appeared to him to have been arranged *à la republicain,* which he pretended to know they were at heart. He once sent a file of soldiers for a respectable citizen named Besanilla, who had told a neighbour that he had heard the patriots were about to enter the city. At sunset Besanilla was tied up with his arms extended to a stone cross in one of the *Plazuelas*, or small squares. A lantern was placed above his head to enable passers-by to read the inscription, " Here hangs Besanilla until the insurgents enter."

The royalist officers felt more than an usual degree of rancour towards the Buenos Ayreans. It happened that Major Crespo was made prisoner, and on being questioned as to what country he was a native of, he replied, with some hesitation, Buenos Ayres. Ramires was dastard enough to beat the major with the hilt of his sword, to such a degree, that it was necessary to send for surgical assistance.

General Rodil unquestionably possesses the qualities of bravery, activity, perseverance, and a mind fruitful in resource, to an uncommon degree. His manners, when he so pleases, are gentlemanly and agreeable; but Rodil has sullied his fair fame by acts of great cruelty. A Limeño gentleman named Castañeda, who had remained enthusiastically faithful to the cause of the king, presented a memorial, requesting to be allowed to become surety for the appearance of the Colombian colonel Ortega, who had been made a prisoner, and who wished for temporary liberty to recover his health. Rodil tore the memorial in pieces, and, forgetful of his own rank, of propriety, and good feeling, beat Castañeda until exhausted. He then imposed a heavy fine upon the unfortunate Limeño, and sentenced him to two months' hard labour for presuming to intercede for a patriot.

Dr. Pezet, an eminent physician of Lima, and who had been a deputy in congress, fell into the hands of Rodil. His life was spared upon condition that he should write against the patriot cause in a newspaper published in the castles. Pezet accepted the terms, but the shame of acting the part of an apostate broke his spirit, and he shortly afterwards died.

Monsieur Rantier, a respectable Frenchman, having obtained from the royalist commandant in Lima a passport to quit the country, proceeded to Callao to take shipping. He was there detained by Rodil, and obliged to work like a convict, until the surrender of the castles. Monsieur Rantier still retains on his shoulders the marks caused by the heavy loads he was obliged to carry.

Referring now to maritime affairs. When the liberating army marched from Huaras in July, 1824, Admiral Guise was directed to blockade Callao. The Spanish ship Asia of seventy-four guns, and the brig Aquiles, entered that port on the 24th of September following. Guise in the Protector frigate, with two or three small vessels of war, could not effectually prevent the entrance of so superior a force; but he did them all the damage he could, by following them close into the port, and keeping up a running fight for upwards of an hour.

On the 7th of October, the Peruvian admiral anchored off San Lorenzo with the undermentioned vessels:

The frigate	Protector.
Corvette	Pinchincha.
Brig	Chimborazo.
Schooners	Guayaquileña. Macedonia.

On the 8th, the Asia, accompanied by the brigs Pezuela and Constante, and the corvette Ica, having strong detachments of infantry on board, under the command of the assassin Colonel Don Mateo Ramires, all stood towards the patriot squadron. Guise got under weigh; a fight ensued, which continued for six or seven hours; both parties claimed the victory, although there was not a ship lost or many killed or wounded on either side. The whole of the vessels on both sides returned to their former anchorage.

The following is an extract from the laughable report, made upon this occasion by Don Roque Guruzeta, commander of the Asia, to General Rodil. "The smaller vessels" (of the patriots) "are so contemptible, and manœuvred so badly to-day, that it appeared to me to be indecorous to notice them, and I considered that I ought to confine my attention to the attack of the Prueba," (the Protector) "with a view to destroy her, and if I have not entirely effected this, I can assure you that I have done her serious damage."

There was nothing like *desperate valour* on the part of the Spanish commander, in the affair above described, but it may be considered enterprising when compared with what occurred in 1821, near the same place. The patriot squadron having withdrawn, it was usual for a Spanish vessel to stand out, every morning, a few leagues from the shore, to ascertain if any strange sail was off the bay. On one occasion the Venganza of forty-four guns discovered the Chileno corvette of sixteen guns. The latter crowded all sail, and stood for the look-out frigate, which thereupon ran into port. This glaring act of cowardice excited general indignation amongst the royalists who witnessed it from the shore; but the Spanish captain stated, that having no orders to attack, he did not feel himself authorized to come to action!

On the 20th of October the Asia and Spanish vessels of war sailed from Callao. They were followed, for two days and a night, by the squadron of Guise, whose intrepidity forms a brilliant contrast to the pusillanimity of the Spanish commander, who appears to have been of the same school as Coy of the Esmeralda, Capaz of the Maria Isabel, and Villegas of the Prueba.

Whilst the patriot squadron blockaded Callao by sea, the able and indefatigable general, Don Bartolomeo Salom, commanded the investing force on the land side. It consisted of from three to four thousand men, half of whom were Colombians, who had arrived in Peru subsequently to the battle of Ayacucho. During this protracted siege, the patriot troops suffered most severely from ague, and many hundreds died.

The besieged suffered still more severely from a pestilential fever, which broke out in consequence of a scarcity of fresh provisions, and carried off several thousands. Many families of the highest rank addicted to the royal cause, and who had shut themselves up with Rodil, became extinct. The venerable Señora Doña N. de Ulloa, niece to the celebrated travellers of that name, her two daughters (one of them the Marchioness of Torre Tagle), her son, and several beautiful grand-daughters, and every other member of that numerous family perished. The Count de Lurigancho; Señor Don Diego Aliaga, who had been vice-president of the republic under Torre Tagle; Rico, a well known scurrilous though able royalist editor; Yzque; Exelme; Morot; and many other persons of note were amongst the victims. Of three or four other families, consisting of nearly fifty persons, only two very young children survived. Out of above four thousand of the unfortunate people who retired to Callao, not more than two hundred outlived the effects of famine and epidemical disease.

Rodil, undismayed by these surrounding horrors, persisted in a most gallant and obstinate defence. He suppressed several attempts in the garrison to mutiny, and sustained bombardment from the Peruvian squadron, and from the batteries on shore. Having thus held out unaided for nearly thirteen months, part of which time the garrison subsisted on the flesh of horses, asses, and dogs, and being at length reduced by absolute famine to the last extremity, he capitulated upon honourable terms on the 19th of January, 1826. He sailed from Callao in H. M. S. Briton, Captain Sir Murray Maxwell, and is now *Commandante General de las Guardias* in Madrid.

During the protracted siege of Callao the patriot troops behaved, as usual, exceedingly well. General Salom obtained by his activity, zeal, and talent, the confidence of his soldiers, and by his suavity and firmness the good will and support of the Peruvian people.

Thus the heroic constancy and perseverance of the patriots, surpassed by no people in ancient or modern times, were crowned with ultimate and complete success throughout South America. The blood-stained standard which Pizarro had planted three hundred years before was trailed in the dust; and the last link of the chain, that but lately bound seventeen millions of Americans to the tottering monarchy of Spain, was finally broken.

It cannot be denied, that the Spanish generals deserve great credit for the talent and perseverance, with which they prolonged an arduous contest, for years, after the mother country had ceased to afford them any supplies. However we may differ in opinion as to the principles they espoused, it must in fairness be acknowledged, that as gallant soldiers, manfully contending to the last, they are justly entitled to a high degree of commendation.

Sucre has merited and received the highest praise for the splendid affair of Ayacucho; but perhaps he deserves as much for the generous and politic terms which he granted to the vanquished; and still greater applause for the rapidity with which he followed up his successes, in spite of apparently insurmountable obstacles. Such decisive conduct prevented the rallying of the dispersed fugitives, and the possibility of their uniting with the ultra-royalist General Olañeta. It was indeed a masterly pursuit, and saved

Peru from the farther effects of a devastating war, which had been unnecessarily procrastinated after the battle of Junin, by Canterac's being allowed to form a junction with Valdez at Cuzco.

Many obstacles, which the patriots had to overcome on the coast and in the mountainous regions, have already been described; but it will perhaps not be out of place to enumerate here a few additional instances, which cannot but enhance the just eulogium which has been passed on the patriot soldiers.

During certain months of the year, tremendous hail-storms occur. They have fallen with such violence that the army has been obliged to halt, and the men, being compelled to hold up their knapsacks to protect their faces, have had their hands so severely bruisedand cut by large hail-stones, as to bleed copiously.

Thunder storms are also particularly severe in the elevated regions. The electric fluid is seen to fall around, in a manner unknown in other parts of the world, and frequently causes loss of life. Such tempests have often burst at some distance below their feet, as the army climbed the lofty ridges of the Andes.

The distressing fatigues of the most difficult marches in Europe, cannot perhaps be compared to those which the patriot soldiers underwent in the campaign of 1824. From Caxamarca, memorable for the seizure and death of Atahualpa, to Cuzco, the whole line of road (with the exception of the plain between Pasco and the vicinity of Tarma, twenty leagues in extent, and the valley of Xauxa), presents a continuation of rugged and fatiguing ascents and declivities. That these difficulties do not diminish between Cuzco and Potosi may be inferred from the following fact.

When the division Cordova marched from Cuzco to Puno, it halted at Santa Rosa. During the night there was a heavy fall of snow. They continued their march the next morning. The effects of the rays of the sun, reflected from the snow upon the eyes, produces a disease, which the Peruvians call *surumpi*. It occasions blindness, accompanied by excruciating tortures. A pimple forms on the eye-ball, and causes an itching pricking pain, as though needles were continually piercing it. The temporary loss of sight is occasioned by the impossibility of opening the eyelids for a single moment, the smallest ray of light being absolutely insupportable. The only relief is a poultice of snow, but as that melts away the intolerable tortures return. With the exception of twenty men and the guides, who knew how to guard against the calamity, the whole division were struck blind with the *surumpi*, three leagues distant from the nearest human habitation. The guides galloped on to a village in advance, and brought out a hundred Indians to assist in leading the men. Many of the sufferers, maddened by pain, had strayed away from the column, and perished before the return of the guides, who, together with the Indians, took charge of long files of the poor sightless soldiers, clinging to each other with agonized and desperate grasp. During their dreary march by a rugged mountain path, several fell down precipices, and were never heard of more. Miller himself suffered only fifteen hours from the *surumpi*, but the complaint usually continues two days. Out of three thousand men, Cordova lost above a hundred. The regiment most affected was the *voltigeros* (formerly Numancia), which had marched from Caracas, a distance of upwards of two thousand leagues.

In the early part of 1824, two hundred patriot prisoners of war, on the march to the grand depôt in the island of Chucuito, on the lake of Titicaca, overpowered their escort at Santa Rosa, and then fled to the mountains of Cochabamba, with an intention of penetrating through the unknown back country, peopled by uncivilized Indians; and of making their way out at Huanuco, where an advanced post of the patriots was stationed. On the third day after their escape they were caught in a snow-storm. On the fourth they were afflicted with the *surumpi;* and those who did not perish upon the spot, or were not overtaken by their royalist pursuers, were torn to pieces by the wild beasts with which that mountainous and unfrequented part of the country is infested. Even the first night they passed upon the mountains, it was necessary to light fires and to mount guard, to preserve themselves from the jaws of the ferocious animals, which prowled and howled around them. Every man who separated from the circle was sure to be carried off, and was speedily devoured.

Besides these various obstacles of climate and locality; an exhausted treasury, the dissensions of party-spirit, the inactivity and apathy of several of the members of successive administrations, and the incapacity of some of the commanders, were to be reckoned among the complicated difficulties which so long retarded the progress of emancipation.

Surely the undaunted perseverance of the patriot soldiers in such a case gives them a just claim to our admiration and applause. And are not the republics which produce such men entitled to the consideration and respect of more powerful and more favourably circumstanced nations? Above all, have not the South American patriots a legitimate right to expect from their new governments that good faith, honesty, and public spirit, which are the best guarantees to persons and property? These virtues, if generally practised, will gradually fit the new-born nations for the enjoyment of rational freedom, by teaching them how to appreciate it.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Foreign merchants.—Nature of their assistance to patriots and royalists.—Remarks upon the formation of the Chileno squadron.—Revenue of Peru.—Receipt and expenditure.—Loan transactions.—Mistaken policy.—General observations.

THERE have been some attempts to inculcate an opinion that the ex-colonies of Spain, particularly Chile, mainly owe their independence, and the formation of their naval forces, to the assistance of European merchants. The fact is, that some of them often assumed rather more credit than they were entitled to, from the circumstance of their happening to be the consignees of a few old ships, and of second-hand slops and stores. As men of business, indeed, these gentlemen were right to make the most of the market and their commodities; but then their claims to ardent patriotism, unmixed with views of profit, must be disallowed. It is true that many of them displayed that liberality of feeling which is generally found to exist in the commercial world; but in this case their sympathies and their interests went hand in hand. When these became unhappily at variance, poor Sympathy often went to the wall, and the royalists were supplied with the munitions of war whenever they could give a favourable price. The North Americans were not behindhand in this sort of traffic. Commodore Stewart was loudly accused of affording the royalists a degree of support, inconsistent with his instructions, and the laws of neutrality. He was brought to a court-martial on his return to the United States; but the charges were not proved, and he was acquitted.

Foreign merchants did occasionally make advances to the new governments; but it was always upon terms of profit proportionate to the risk. Thus, speaking of the merchants as a body, and within the sphere of their counting-houses, their pretensions to disinterested liberalism fall to the ground. But speaking of them individually, a very great many may be instanced as having given unequivocal proofs of their zeal and adherence to the cause of independence. When the destiny of Chile depended upon the uncertain chances of a battle, some English merchants armed themselves, joined the patriot cavalry as volunteers, and participated in the brilliant charges which, at Maypo, decided the fate of the country. Amongst these gentlemen, Messrs. Samuel Haigh and James Barnard were particularly conspicuous. To such feats of gallantry, might be added some splendid acts of philanthropy and benevolence, which reflect particular honour on the parties concerned. It was such conduct, and not assistance bestowed in the way of business, which caused the British to be looked up to with distinguished consideration. Another powerful reason for their preponderating influence, was the strict observance of the laws of neutrality by the English naval commanders, and the honourable, straight-forward, courteous, and manly frankness with which English naval officers conducted themselves. Captains Sir Thomas Staines, Bowles, Shirreff, Falcon, Sir Thomas Hardy (now rear-admiral), the Hon. Sir Robert Spencer, Prescott, Brown, the Hon. Frederick Spencer, Porter, and many other officers, are still remembered, and frequently mentioned by South Americans in terms of the warmest regard. Hence also arose a feeling of gratitude in the Chileno people towards England as a nation. They persuade themselves that she is the friend of liberal institutions, and consider her their well-wisher. But it is well known that Spanish America owes nothing to the British *government* save the foreign enlistment bill of 1819, which Mr. Canning stated in Parliament, in 1827, was passed at the express request of the king of Spain.

Chile, therefore, must not be defrauded of the honour due to her own exertions, and the assistance of the army of the Andes. A few facts will show that Chile, aided by the Buenos Ayreans, worked out her own emancipation, through her own valour, her own immense sacrifices, and her own perseverance; and, having stated thus much, it will be unnecessary to make any observation on the same subject with regard to Peru.

Notwithstanding the advantages acquired by the campaign of 1818, the directorial government soon perceived that its acquisitions were ill secured from new invasions, so long as the coasts were unprotected by a naval force. For the double object of defence, and of possessing the means to remove the seat of war to Peru, the centre of the Spanish possessions, the Chileno government turned its attention to the creation of a navy.

The Windham, afterwards named the Lautaro, an old East Indiaman, of eight hundred tons, was the first purchase. One hundred and eighty thousand dollars was the price agreed upon. Ninety thousand dollars, in hard cash, were paid down before possession was given, and the remainder was paid by good bills upon the custom-house.

One hundred and fifty thousand dollars were paid for another old East Indiaman, of twelve hundred tons, the Cumberland, afterwards named the General San Martin. Contributions, for the purpose of raising this sum, were collected principally in family plate, copper, jerked beef, and tallow.

The Galvarino, formerly the British sloop of war Hecate, was purchased for seventy thousand dollars. The brig Columbus, afterwards the Araucano, cost forty thousand dollars; and the Clifton, afterwards the Chacabuco, thirty-five thousand dollars.

The debts contracted on account of those vessels were not of long standing, being principally and speedily liquidated by bills, taken by the custom-house in payment of duties, and therefore nearly as good to the merchants as ready money.

The following list of the ships of war taken from the Spaniards, from 1818 till 1825, shows that the sacrifices and exertions of Chile produced the wished-for results, and that the maritime superiority of the Pacific was the fruit of her exertions and valour.

	Guns.
Maria Isabel	50
Prueba	50
Venganza	44
Esmeralda	44
Resolucion	34
Sebastiana	34
Pezuela	18
Potrillo	16

Proserpina Aranzanzu	schooners.
7 gun-boats.	
Aguila Begoña	armed merchantmen.
Asia	74 guns.
Aquiles	brig of war.

The Asia was seized by her crew, and delivered up to the Mexicans, at Acapulco, in 1825. The Aquiles was, in like manner, delivered up to the Chileno government in the same year.

One hundred thousand dollars were sent to the United States for the purchase of two corvettes, one of which, the Independencia, of twenty-six guns, arrived in a Chileno port. The person in charge of the other ran away with her, on the plea of only a part of the purchase money having been paid: he affected not to have sufficient confidence in the government for the remainder, but he did not refund the money already advanced. The want of judgment and incompetency of the Chileno agent, in the United States, rendered the matter still worse; for he suffered himself to be involved in such an expensive lawsuit at New York, that, in the end, through the folly of one party, and the knavery of another, the Independencia cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars *.

The Rising Star, a steam vessel, cost the Chileno government seven thousand pounds sterling, when their agent in London, Colonel Alvarez Condarco, very properly refused to incur any further expenses, and relinquished the *bargain*.

The same ruinous charges were made for arms and stores. Muskets were sometimes bought at twenty dollars each, and seldom or never at less than ten. A corresponding price was given for military accoutrements, many of which had already been condemned as unserviceable at the Tower of London, and bought up at a low price, for the supply of the patriots or the royalists, whichever the consignees, with all due deference to the interests of the shippers, might consider the most eligible customers. This assertion will be borne out by a reference to a manifesto of the Viceroy Pezuela, published at Madrid in 1821. At page 82 he states:

" The presence of foreign vessels in our ports may have been prejudicial to our cause; but perhaps the utility will outweigh the evil, if put into an impartial balance. Of course they brought us the great numbers of muskets and other arms already mentioned in the answer to the second general charge, and without which our defenceless armies would perhaps have yielded before now to the well-provided troops of the enemy. *A foreign vessel introduced supplies*

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* A line of battle ship and a frigate were purchased by the English contractors for the last Colombian loan. They sailed in 1825 for Carthagena, but having put into New York, they were sold to defray the expenses incurred in rendering them seaworthy, and thus were lost to the republic.

on the coast of Chiloe; another, by opportune warning, saved a rich convoy coming from Guayaquil, and which was upon the very point of falling into the power of the blockading forces off Callao. Not to be diffuse, it is stated that, for several years past, foreign vessels have been employed as the means of performing important services, and of conveying ammunition and stores with which our divers military points have been strengthened.

" *The active conduct of government has been made manifest, as much in having drawn from foreign countries,*

13,662 *muskets.*
1,295 *pair of pistols.*
5,745 *sabres.*
58,000 *flints.*
2,090 *sets of accoutrements,*

as well as in having raised 213,885 *dollars for the payment thereof.*"

The costly purchases, by the patriots, as before specified, were long antecedent to the famous loans, which have turned out to be more prejudicial than useful, both to Chile and to Peru, and which will continue to press like an incubus on those countries, in their future efforts to surmount the difficulties which the loans themselves have created. Such resources, if faithfully applied, might have been beneficial; but, unfortunately, the magnitude of the temptation rendered men dishonest, whose integrity had never been assailed by opportunity, and whose ingenuity till then had never had so wide a field for exertion. Either political or financial integrity was a virtue so seldom taught by precept, or enforced by example, in the time of the Spaniards, that it is not to be wondered at, if the *very name* of a loan should awaken the cupidity of men, many of whose earliest lessons and principles had been taken at the gaming table. The first importation of specie gave a new impetus to the intriguing powers of those pretenders to the sweets of office who, possessing some degree of influence, especially with the army, conceived that they had some chance of supplanting the rulers of the day. O'Higgins has been heard to say that for six years, when he could only manage to raise supplies to meet the exigencies of the moment, he was permitted to remain undisturbed at the head of affairs; during this period, Chile became not only one of the family of nations, but sent forth an expedition which laid the foundation of the independence of Peru. But the expectation of the arrival of the first instalment in gold, from London, caused rival candidates to spring up, and O'Higgins was induced to give way to men, under whose successive administrations the power and respectability of the republic have been almost uniformly retrograding. It was long previous to the loan that she gained her naval superiority over the Spaniards in the Pacific. Her victorious squadron has since been allowed to rot in port! In 1821 she expedited nearly 5000 troops to Peru. Perhaps she would find more difficulty now in sending off as many hundreds! Notwithstanding her natural riches, poverty pervades every public department, and nothing can be seen to justify the conclusion that the loan has been beneficial to the country.

A very small proportion of the loans raised, for the American governments, was received in specie. No inconsiderable part was remitted in arms, which were sometimes serviceable, and sometimes damaged, but always charged at an exorbitant price.

It is right that a government should suffer for selecting an agent unfit for the mission he may be sent upon; but it is not the less unfortunate for the people, that they should have to pay for supineness, errors, and over-reaching upon every side. South America (thanks to the colonial system of Spain) does not abound at first sight in many public-spirited and honest men of superior talent; but such are not entirely wanting, although the governments do not always avail themselves of their services.

Hence it is that some of the patriot agents did not become the *poorer* by a residence in Europe, and others of them were (perhaps wrongfully) supposed to have lost sight of the interests of their own country, in the assiduous cultivation of acquaintances in a certain house in the City where the gentlemen who frequent it are not suspected to be *more* indifferent to the fascinating charms of making a rapid fortune than the grosser part of the world in general. Not that some of the successive governments could very well accuse their agents of malversation, without feeling a twitch of conscience at home, inasmuch as the instalments remitted were not at all times fairly expended. An instance occurred in which a civilian, holding an office of high responsibility, lost at a gambling table, in one sitting, twenty thousand dollars of the very money which formed part of the loan, and at the very time that the officers and soldiers, then in presence of the enemy, were placed upon one half or one fourth of their pay! The damning sin of the new governments has been, the not being proof against the tempting facilities of borrowing money. Instead of increasing their debts, they ought to have paid off a part, if not the whole, of those already contracted. We can assert with confidence that, as far as relates to Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres, the revenue, *honestly* expended, would have been more than sufficient to meet every exigency.

The following is a translation of an official return, published in a Lima newspaper, dated 10th of November, 1827.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT. SECOND-SECTION.

AN APPROXIMATIVE ESTIMATE OF THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE REPUBLIC IN THE PRESENT YEAR, VIZ.

RECEIPTS.	Treasury.	Customs.	Total.
Lima	750,000	1,082,000	1,832,000
Ayacucho	137,000		137,000
Cuzco	547,000		547,000
Puno	102,000	15,000	117,000
Arequipa	770,000	460,000	1,230,000
Truxillo	100,000	140,000	240,000
Junin	300,000		300,000
	2,706,000	1,697,000	4,403,000
General contribution			800,000
Total			5,233,000

EXPENDITURE.	Government.	Army and Navy.	Home Department.	Total.
Congress	250,000			250,000
Diplomatic agents	50,000			50,000
War salaries		1,500,000		1,500,000
Do. expenses		400,000		400,000
Marine		500,000		500,000
Military colleges		50,000		50,000
Charitable establishments and schools	50,000			50,000
Political and judicial establishments	305,000			305,000
Finance offices			201,000	201,000
Custom-house			276,000	276,000
Expenses and superannuations of finance department			250,000	250,000
Consolidation of the debt			170,000	170,000
Interest of the debt			150,000	150,000
Unforeseen expenses			1,000,000	1,000,000
Total	655,000	2,450,000	2,047,000	5,152,000

	Dollars.
Receipts	5,233,000
Expenditure	5,152,000
Excess of revenue	81,000

If any additional evidence were required to show the capacity of Peru to fulfil her engagements, satisfactory proofs might be adduced from the administration of the departments of Puno and Potosi in the unsettled year of 1825.

The loan-debt of Peru may be stated, in round numbers, at one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling. The government of that country now says: "Although we have not received perhaps half the amount we ought to have received, and although we have been imposed upon by contractors, and by our agents (for whose errors we hold ourselves responsible), we nevertheless consider ourselves bound in honour to acknowledge the debt; and this is all we can do until we recover from the effects of a war which has crippled the country."

The pernicious policy of Colombia and Peru, in keeping up standing armies in time of peace, so contrary to the spirit and principles of liberty which each professes, is, after want of integrity in some of the public servants, the great cause of the inability to make remittances for the payment of the dividends. The system of impressing seamen in England, and the conscription of Napoleon, were mild and equitable compared with the mode of recruiting in South America, where labour is arbitrarily deprived of the most useful hands, merely to send Peruvians to Colombia*, and to keep Colombians in Peru. It is such cruel measures, of equivocal tendency, which contribute to keep both countries in an unsettled state, and disable the respective governments from satisfying even the just claims upon them. That there is a disposition to keep faith with the public creditor is shown by the formal recognition of the debt, and it is to be hoped that the leading men of South America will ere long learn its real interests, and discover the way to govern, without an expensive and disproportionate military force.

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* This observation refers to transactions in 1826, when some three or four thousand Peruvians, principally *serranos* or mountaineers, were shipped off from the Puertos Intermedios, for the sultry shores of Colombia.

It may be asked if standing armies are not necessary to guard against foreign invasion? The answer is, CERTAINLY NOT. If an European power were quixotic enough to send even a very large force to any part of South America, the *montoneros*, *gauchos*, or *guasos*, would give a good account of them, and the climate would do the rest. Against the general wish of the people they never could remain. The immense extent of territory which its vast continent embraces would require innumerable garrisons to hold in subjection the principal towns alone; and, as there are very few fortified places, detached garrisons would easily be overpowered, or starved out, whenever the natives chose to rise *en masse*, as has been seen in the case of La Serna, at Jujuy. From the great abundance of cattle in South America, and the simple mode of living, the maintaining of guerrillas or montoneros is attended with less difficulty, perhaps, than in any other part of the globe; and such is the nature of the country, the thinly populated plains, the coast of deserts, and the almost impassable mountains, that to keep those bodies down, whilst a patriotic feeling existed, would be impossible. Thus, a hostile army, however numerous, would only keep in subjection those parts which it actually occupied. Few recruits of the country could be obtained by the invaders, and on the fidelity of those few, no firm reliance could be placed. The ranks of the invaders would dwindle into utter insignificance, and ultimately be overwhelmed. The instructions to General Whitelocke and the other commanders who were to co-operate with him, are really curious documents, and furnish clear proofs of a lamentable want of information on South American affairs. Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Upper Peru, were marked out to be made permanent possessions. The lines of communication across the Pampas and over the Andes were arranged, as if a corps of fifty or sixty estafettes would have been sufficient to maintain them. The plans discussed at that time, with all the solemnity of official mystery, now appear most absurd. It would be considered incredible that ignorance so profound should have disgraced a public office, were it not known that able British officers have pronounced, and that not long ago, that South America, from Cape Horn to the Isthmus of Panama, might be conquered and retained by ten thousand European troops. Such opinions were, in all probability, hastily formed, by taking only a casual glance at *sans culotte*-looking soldiers on the coast, and without reflecting that the absence of pipe-clayed gloves, leather stocks, and inconvenient gaiters, does not necessarily imply an absence of military capabilities or courage. It may be extremely flattering to Europeans to contrast their well-clothed troops with the loosely dressed Americans; but let those fine-looking fellows land on the south of Valdivia, and let them attempt to penetrate to Concepcion, hardly a man would escape the long lance of the half naked Araucanian. Let them disembark from the Rio de la Plata, or on the shores of Chile, and the bravest European soldiers would find, that the warring *gaucho*, and expert *guaso*, are enemies rather to be feared than ridiculed.

The South Americans may not yet be sufficiently advanced in civilization, to form the best ordered governments; but it is evident, and certain, that they will never again submit to a foreign yoke. The few anti-patriots, or disaffected individuals, who yet remain, are amongst the lawyers, the clergy, and the aristocracy; and these are not, generally speaking, of the right mettle to be employed in the field. The *gauchos*, the *guasos*, and the peasantry in general, are the effective men in time of war, and they, with scarcely an exception, are stanch patriots. The most influential natives now hold important employments in the army, in the church, and in the state, and they would not willingly give up their present situations to make room for Europeans. Notwithstanding all this, the most wild and visionary hopes appear to be still entertained, not only by the servile royalists of Spain, but by some of the most *liberal* constitutional Spaniards now in England, as well as by other Europeans, blinded by prejudices, or deceived by the misinformation of discontented, disappointed friars and priests; and some few out-of-place *oidores* and lawyers still remaining in South America. The destiny of those countries does not, cannot, depend upon the will of any European power, not even on that of all Europe combined. The new states are, and will be, free from foreign domination; and they will be matured into independent nations, in spite of every effort that may be made by their former oppressors.

No government of any kind can exist for any great length of time in South America, unless it be supported by public opinion. Hence proceed so many changes; and these will doubtless continue, until some superior mind shall arise, and drive political novices, and petty tyrants, like chaff before the wind. But that superior mind must possess strong nerve, and more than honest *intentions*. Public spirit, honesty, and incorruptible even-handed justice, are the best guarantees to the permanent preservation of power. At least it is hoped that the gallant South Americans will never tolerate, for any length of time, any set of rulers who do not possess those legitimate claims to confidence. ALFREDS and WASHINGTONS are not the produce of every age, or of every country. But as Spanish Americans become enlightened, public opinion will give greater efficacy to moral checks; and time may perhaps exhibit, to an admiring world, nations as free, powerful, and happy as the best constituted monarchy, or as their elder sister of the northern hemisphere, but unstained by the foul blot of slavery, which obscures the otherwise just claims of the United States to admiration.

Much has been written against the governments of Chile and Peru. There is no doubt that, in each country, successive rulers have committed many acts of gross injustice; not unfrequently from inexperience, and sometimes certainly from less justifiable motives. But how could it reasonably be expected to be otherwise, in a ministry chosen almost at random, from a people just emerging from cruel despotism; from a people born in the most abject bondage, and reared in all the bad principles of despotism and superstition? The colonial system forbade every kind of learning calculated to expand and enlighten the mind. Whenever extraordinary natural talents showed themselves, they were studiously perverted to vicious pursuits, in order to withdraw the powers of a strong mind from the consideration of political subjects. During the struggle for independence, a successful commander was placed by the chances of war, or by intrigue, at the helm of state: he chose his ministers from amongst his friends at hand, without always seeking for unobtrusive merit; and it has often happened that incapacity, unaccompanied even by probity, has been called to offices of trust; so that, when such men have accidentally found themselves at the head of affairs, it is not very surprising that they should have attended quite as much to their own private interests as to the public good.

Monteagudo has, in his Memoir, the following remark upon the scarcity of men in Peru qualified to fill high offices, which applies with equal force to Chile, and perhaps to the other sections.

"Unfortunately the greater part of the population of Peru is deficient in those acquirements, without which it is impossible to fulfil well the duties of such difficult situations. The study of politics and legislation has been hitherto as dangerous as it was useless. The study of the science of political economy was diametrically opposed to the colonial laws. Diplomacy was without an object, and it would have been equally superfluous to have dedicated oneself to that study as it would have been to have learned the *deidam* of the Bramins. In a word, all the knowledge necessary to pave the way to the acquisition of those branches of science was either of most difficult attainment, or encompassed by dangers which few could venture to brave."

Such were the scanty materials out of which the new governments had to be constructed. Able writers have animadverted upon them in unmeasured terms; but it must be recollected that these authors have sometimes started from amongst the many, who have gone out with glittering hopes, and who, having failed from want of tact, have turned round upon the governments, and broadly charged them with want of faith; when perhaps this last reason, even when it did exist, was not amongst the main causes of their disappointment.

It belongs to the diplomatic body of Spanish America, resident in Europe, to set the world right in several points, upon which misrepresentations have been carried to an unwarrantable length, by variously talented men, writing and writhing under the feelings of disappointed expectations. But some of their Excellencies appear to have been, in a few instances, less anxious to trouble themselves with the affairs of their country, than to swell themselves out like the frog in the fable. Perhaps, however, their said Excellencies, and the aforesaid disappointed writers, will tolerate a remark, *en passant*, that South America is *not* a warehouse of ready-made fortunes, into which the mercantile or military aspirant, to wealth or fame, has only to walk and help himself. The very want of stability and regularity on the part of those governments has occasionally enabled a few foreign speculators to make rapid fortunes. This has caused others to flock thither, and the disappointment has been in proportion to their numbers. Let them go: but let them make up their minds to the attendant risk and inconveniences; and let them conform with a forbearing spirit to the manners of a mild people, not quite so far advanced in, what is called, civilization as the people of older countries. But the fact is, that few men willingly ascribe the cause of failure to a want of foresight, to misinformation, to miscalculation, or to their own unconciliating deportment towards the natives; but all seem ready to throw the blame upon a government, or a people, certainly not held up as faultless, but neither of which ought to be made responsible for the stability of every splendid air-built castle, the offspring of a heated or misguided imagination.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Potosi.—Its mines.—Public edifices.—Mint.—Bank of Rescate.—Treasury.—Caxchas.—Departmental administration.—Police.—Government-house.—Society of Potosi.—Agents for mining associations.

THE war being now at an end, General Miller was appointed prefect* of the department of Potosi, composed of the provinces of Porco, Chayanta, Lipes, Chichas, and Atacama; containing a population of about 300,000 souls, two-thirds of which were aborigines, the remainder whites, and *mextizos* of various shades.

The town of Potosi, the capital of the department, is situated about 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the province of Porco, in 19° 51′ south latitude and 60° 31′ west longitude from Cadiz. Upon the accidental discovery of its mineral riches in 1545, it was named an *asiento*, or mine station; but in process of time it was raised to the rank of a town, and made the capital of an *intendencia*. In 1611 the town contained 150,000 inhabitants, according to a census taken by order of the *intendente* Bejerano. This number must at that time have consisted principally of *mitayos*† of every tribe existing between Potosi and Cuzco, a distance of nearly 300 leagues. Those unhappy beings were generally accompanied in their labours by their wives and families, who came rather to share in the hopeless sufferings of their husbands and fathers than to settle in the arid hills of Potosi. It is not therefore surprising that its population should have been, by the abolition of the *mita*, and by the shocks which wealthy establishments received during the revolution, reduced to only 8000, in the year 1825.

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* The prefects of the departments of Upper Peru were called presidents, but we shall use the former appellation to prevent confusion.

† Indians compelled to work in the mines.

The traveller, on approaching Potosi, from whatever side he may come, emerges from deep mountain ravines, and discovers the town at the foot of the celebrated argentiferous *Cerro*, which is a conical hill about three leagues in circumference at the base. Its summit is more than 2000 feet above the town, and consequently 17,000 feet* above the level of the sea. It appears to be of volcanic origin, and its sides are marked with spots of various hues, such as dark green, orange, gray, and red.

The principal *vetas*, or lodes, on the *Cerro* are:

La Ensima, or Chacapolo.
— Polo.
— Mendieta.
— Veta-rica.
La Estaño.
— Corpus-Christi.
— Sapatera.
— San José.

The following are the principal mines, with the depth to which each had been excavated up to the year 1825:

	Varas, or Spanish yards.
Montoya . .	800
Arcobarreno . .	700
Marverias . .	700
Joaquin Prudencio .	600

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* The height of the town and cerro of Potosi is given upon hearsay.

	Varas, or Spanish yards.
Rosario	400
Chaquello	250
Sojo	200
Sobato	600
San José	600
Antona	1000
Purisima	700
San Miguel	500
San Juan de Dios	450
Escarterilla	300
Carmen	400
Pimentel	1000
Guadalupe	230
Oñate	400
Sacramento	260
San Geronimo	300
Guaillaguari	900
San Rafael	100
Boguilla	150
San Luis	400
Flamencos	300
Santa Rosa	420
Misericordia	420
San Bartolomé	310
Esperanza	250
Mercedes	300
Auxilios	400
San Antonio	350

Above 5000 *boca-minas* (mine-mouths or levels) have been opened on the mountain. Of these only

50 or 60 are now worked. The rest are stopped up, are inundated, or have fallen in.

The upper portion of the mountain is so completely honeycombed, that it may be considered as nearly worked out. The lower part, about one-third of the cone, has hardly been touched, in consequence of the number of springs which impede the workings.

Several *socabones*, or drain adits, have been commenced; but they have generally been either unsuccessful, or left unfinished for want of funds. The principal socabon of San Juan Nepomuceno cost the government 560,243 dollars. It is 2200 *varas* in length, six feet high, six feet wide at the bottom, arched, and lined with rough stones without cement. Beneath is a *contra-socabon*, or under-drain, to carry off the water.

The patriot prisoners of war were forced to labour in the socabon, which is yet unfinished and unprofitable. This will not surprise any one acquainted with the manner in which royal works were in that country converted into mere jobs. The proprietor who possessed most interest, or who gave weight to his persuasions by certain well known arguments, could, under the plea of public utility, have an adit driven where it was most likely to benefit his own mines. Thus the public money was often sacrificed to private purposes, and frequently without the slightest advantage, even to the party it was intended to favour.

The surrounding country is also metalliferous. Silver of great fineness abounds in a hill called Guayna-

Potosi, or Young Potosi, close to the *Cerro*, but which cannot be worked, on account of numerous springs being met with at no great distance from the surface. The ore is pulverized in mills, worked with overshot wheels, turned by streamlets conducted from lakes or pools in the mountains, from one to ten miles' distance from the city. The most considerable of these lakes are formed by dams built across the *quebradas* or ravines. The water is sparingly let out by a sluice in the day-time, but never at night, and sometimes not oftener than twice a week, according to the supply. Some of the larger pools are fed by tributary ones, situated in higher recesses of the same mountains. People are constantly employed as lake-keepers, to attend to the sluices, and to repair damages. In very dry seasons it has happened that a scarcity of water has caused the mills to stand still. This inconvenience might be obviated if the *axequias*, or channels, were paved, and the lakes properly cleaned out.

In the year 1572, a mint was constructed, at the expense of 11,000 dollars. It was intended to be only provisional; but it was not until the year 1751 that the present edifice was built. Up to the last mentioned date, the different sorts of money coined at Potosi were flat angular pieces of silver or gold, bearing the Spanish arms, and a figure denoting their value. They are often called *Buccaneer* dollars, and are the "pieces of eight" frequently mentioned in the history of those marine freebooters.

The process of extracting silver from the ore was of the rudest kind until 1571, when Velasco introduced the amalgamation with quicksilver. Before this, several thousand *hornillos*, or small furnaces, were used for smelting. Their appearance at night on the *Cerro* is described by Acosta, and other early travellers, as forming an illumination as beautiful and symmetrical as it was extraordinary.

If eight marks of silver *in piña* be obtained out of each *caxon* (which is fifty quintales, or fifty hundredweight of ore), it is considered that the proprietor does not lose by working his mines on the *Cerro* of Potosi. At other places from ten to twenty marks per *caxon* is the proportion required to pay expenses, which are augmented by the situation of mines in mountains more difficult of access, or more distant from inhabited places, provisions, fuel, and water to turn a mill. The mines actually worked in the *Cerro* of Potosi do not in general yield more than ten marks per *caxon*. At many places on the side of the *Cerro* are extensive heaps, called *rodados*, formed by the refuse of mines when they were so productive as to render the *rodados* unworthy of attention. They have however become valuable, and are found to produce from three to fifteen marks per caxon.

The richest *vetas*, or lodes, and the largest mines, are now under water, and it would require European science and capital to drain them.

The Portugalete mines, in the province of Chichas, sixty-five leagues from Potosi, produce ore that gives from sixty to eighty marks the caxon. Another mine, the Gallofa, in the province of Chayanta, produces ore that yields forty marks per caxon.

The climate of Potosi is disagreeable. The rays of the sun are scorchingly hot at noon, while in the shade, and at night, the air is piercingly cold. The country for three leagues around is so completely barren that a blade of vegetation is not to be seen, with the exception of a plant called *quinuali*, which is a remedy against the *puna*.

The town of Potosi is built upon uneven ground. It has a spacious square in the centre. The government-house, the town-house, and the jail, under the same roof, occupy one side; the treasury and government-offices another; a convent and an unfinished church the third; and private residences the fourth. Extensive suburbs, once tenanted by Indians and miners, are now without an inhabitant, and the vestiges of the streets are all that remain.

Amongst the most remarkable public edifices is the mint, substantially built of stone, upon a plan admirably adapted to the purposes for which it was designed. It cost 1,148,000 dollars, including the machinery. It contains spacious apartments for the superintendent, and a few of the principal officers.

The heaviest part of the mint machinery is worked by mules; the rest by manual labour. The stamping of the dollars is effected by rude presses, worked by levers; and so clumsily is the operation performed, that the workmen's fingers are placed in no little peril. The milling of the dollar is effected by a description of hand-screw. The labourers get from four to six reals per diem. Charcoal is the only sort of fuel used.

Silver and gold are sold by individuals to the bank of Rescate, or bank of exchange, a government establishment, which re-sells the metals to the mint. The bank and mint are thus checks upon each other.

The annual coinage has amounted to five millions of dollars in silver, and to four thousand six hundred marcs, or 36,800 doubloons in gold. In such productive years the mint has netted a profit of 212,000 dollars, after paying salaries and every other expense.

The officers of the mint are thirty-eight in number. The superintendent receives 6000 dollars a year. The comptroller, treasurer, two assay-masters, the inspector of weights, and the supervisor of assays and weights, are called *ministros* or board officers, and receive each from three thousand to four thousand five hundred dollars per annum.

The officers of the bank of Rescate are an *administrador*, a comptroller, and a treasurer, who are also *ministros*. To their offices are attached two smelters, and nine clerks.

The treasury of the department of Potosi has a treasurer and a comptroller, who are likewise *ministros*, and take precedence of those of the mint and of the bank. The other officers are—

Teniente asesor. Legal adviser.
Promotor fiscal. Public prosecutor.
Alcalde vedor de minas. Overseer of mines.
Ensayador. Assayer.
Fundidor y balanzario. Smelter and inspector of weights.
Escribano de hacienda. Notary public.

There were also fourteen clerks upon this establishment. The custom-house was incorporated with the treasury in 1825.

The post-office has an *administrador*, an *interventor*, three clerks, and six *conductores*.

The whole of the persons employed in the above departments wear civil uniforms according to their rank.

The Rescate bank, and mint, occasion a considerable influx of gold and silver into Potosi, beyond the produce of its own mines. Besides being the *metal-market* for that part of the world, its geographical position made it also an entrepôt for European merchandise from Buenos Ayres, for the consumption of Upper Peru and Cuzco.

The market of Potosi is one of the best supplied in South America, though some articles of great consumption are furnished from very distant provinces. Wine, brandy, and oil are brought from the *Intermedios*, and flour from Cochabamba. Mules, asses, and llamas are the only means of transport.

The necessaries as well as the luxuries of life are exorbitantly dear. The master miner, as well as the labourer, is seldom attentive to economy, and parts with his money as quickly as he earns it. The house of the master miner sometimes contains articles of furniture more costly than are to be found in the most respectable houses of other large towns in Peru.

Formerly many Indian families took up their abode in huts or caves near the mines on the *Cerro*, and descended to the town only on a Saturday night, to receive their wages, and to purchase a weekly supply of provisions. Many of these often remained to squander their earnings in dissipation, drunkenness, or gambling, and passed great part of the night playing the guitar and singing at the doors of the tippling shops.

A singular custom, which probably originated in the indulgence of early mine owners, still prevails. Between Saturday night and Monday morning the *Cerro* literally becomes the property of such persons as choose to work upon their own account. During that time, the boldest master would not venture to visit his own mines. They who thus take possession are called *caxchas*, and generally sell the produce of Sunday to their own masters. Independent of the ore thus abstracted, the caxchas did considerable mischief, by neglecting the proper precautions as they excavated. If they met with a more than usually rich vein in the course of the week, it was passed over, and cunningly reserved for the following Sunday. Very strong measures were therefore taken to abolish the custom, but every effort proved unsuccessful. The caxchas defended their privilege by force of arms, and by hurling down large stones upon their assailants. So watchful are they, that it once happened that fifteen or twenty llamas, richly laden with silver ore, were seized on the descent, because they had left the mine after the hour at which the caxcha privilege commenced. Neither llamas nor drivers were ever heard of again.

General Miller was invested with the civil as well as the military command of the department; in which were cantoned three thousand five hundred Peruvian troops. He was also named superintendent of the mint, and director of the bank. The powers of vice-patron of the church, within his department, were likewise especially delegated to him by General Sucre, as supreme chief of Upper Peru, and he was further empowered to displace such clergymen as it was judged necessary to remove on account of their previous political conduct or opinions, and to recommend their successors to the Archbishop of Charcas, whose clerical appointments were not valid until ratified by the vice-patron.

In order to fill up more than one hundred civil appointments, having annual salaries varying from five hundred to four thousand dollars, which had become vacant by retirements, or *pro formâ* dismissals, on the change of government, Sucre, on his first arrival at Potosi, named a committee of three individuals to make out a list of the most competent and deserving candidates for employment. This list created general dissatisfaction. Sucre next formed a junta for the same purpose, and with the same powers, at Chuquisaca. The second list proved equally unsatisfactory as the first. Sucre then ordered Miller, who had been appointed to the prefecture in the mean time, to make out a third list. This was returned with the other two, and the nomination was left entirely to his own discretion. These extraordinary powers are a flattering testimony of the unlimited confidence which was placed in Miller's integrity and impartiality. The honour of this compliment was enhanced by the circumstance that every appointment so made was confirmed by the Liberator and Sucre. Many useless offices were abolished, and many salaries were reduced. That of the prefect was reduced from twelve to seven thousand dollars. The Spanish viceroys enjoyed a salary of sixty thousand dollars per annum. The republican president of Peru received only thirty-six thousand dollars. The Spanish general-in-chief received twenty thousand. Sucre received only ten thousand.

Every branch of the administration of the department was in a very disorganized state when the patriots entered Potosi. From the commencement of the revolution, in 1810, till 1825, the mint coined at the average rate of only half a million of dollars per annum; but, during the first *five* months after the liberation of Potosi, it coined upwards of a million; while the population of the town increased during the same period from eight to ten thousand.

The natives and merchants showed every confidence in the new government. Industry, a spirit of enterprise, and the best understanding, pervaded every class. It happened that the prefect was on some occasions in want of money to keep the troops closely paid up. Temporary loans were furnished with the utmost readiness by merchants, who, on repayment, refused to receive interest. Don Andres Arguelles lent twenty thousand dollars to the bank, without interest or receipt. This sum was refunded to him in three months, *out of the profits* of the establishment.

Even the Indian character speedily underwent a perceptible change. Accustomed to be deceived, and consequently to deceive, they could neither speak the truth, nor believe in the truth when it was spoken to them. Although these poor people had become entitled by law to the privileges of citizens, yet such was their distrust of the cruel whites, that they considered the abolition of the tribute and the *mita* to be some kind of trap to ensnare them into the commission of a fault. Most of the priesthood abstained from every endeavour to dispel this illusion, because general freedom would do away with that system of *pongos*, or domestic servitude, by which these pastors, as well as the caciques, benefit most materially. Thus the best intended decrees, in favour of the aborigines, will be slow in producing the proper effect. Prejudices and timidity on their own part, and the interest of those who still keep up the delusion, in order to profit by the gratuitous labours of others, will combine to counteract the most benevolent views of the patriotic government. Time itself must be seconded by philanthropic and strong efforts on the part of prefects of departments, governors of provinces, and other principal authorities; and positive benefits must be conferred on the Indians, and actually felt as such by them, in order to produce the proper impression.

In conformity to the new order of things, Miller issued various proclamations, to enforce government decrees, intended to ameliorate the condition of the aborigines, but to little real effect. However, the punctual payment for provisions and forage taken from the Indians; the fair remuneration made to all such as were employed by government; and a regular reward of two or three reals to the bearer of every official communication, created confidence, in spite of the mistrustful disposition of these poor people. Having been accustomed to be impressed, to convey despatches, and to perform all kinds of public labour, without pay or recompense, a trifling reward, invariably given, now led them to compare the present with the past, and they were equally pleased and surprised at the contrast. Major Ballejos, one of the prisoners released from the casemates of Callao in 1820, was at this time town-major. He entered into the spirit of extending protection to the aborigines, and his zeal and humanity greatly assisted in producing a most favourable effect.

Some soldiers who mounted guard at the door of the government-house, and one of the prefect's own servants, were flogged, in the presence of the injured party, for employing Indians, contrary to the spirit of the new regulations. It had been customary with the royal army, and too much so even with the patriot soldiers, to lay hold of the first Indian they met in the street, and compel him to clean out their barracks, to fetch wood and water, and perform the most menial offices. Habit had familiarized the officers to the custom, and they seldom corrected the evil: what, too, is most remarkable, the Indian soldiers were the most tyrannical in exacting these degrading services from their brethren.

Another trifling incident produced a powerful effect upon the long-suffering aborigines. The miners *(asogueros)*, ambitious of displaying their patriotism, agreed, at a meeting of the municipality, in open *cabildo*, that a real should be deducted, by the bank of Rescate, for every mark of silver sold there, towards a general subscription to defray the expenses of the reception and entertainment of Bolivar at Potosi. The officers of the bank improperly made a similar deduction from the *puches*, or lumps, of silver and gold brought for sale by the Indians. As soon as the prefect heard of this proceeding, he went to the bank, where a number of Indians were waiting payment for their metal. Upon inquiry it was ascertained that ninety-five dollars had been thus deducted; but as it was impossible to discover the proportion in which each Indian had been a loser, the prefect ordered his interpreter to explain, in the Quichua language, that the officers of the bank had incurred his displeasure for the imposition practised; that Indians might apply to him personally for redress in case of future causes of complaint; and that, as the individual owners of the ninety-five dollars could not be traced with accuracy, those present should scramble for the ninety-five dollars unjustly stopped, with the addition of five dollars from his own pocket. One hundred dollars, in small silver coin, were then brought out from the bank, and the prefect threw them amongst the crowd with his own hands. Thenceforth the aborigines, instead of frequently disposing, as formerly, of their *puches* in a contraband manner, by which the government lost a considerable revenue, brought their silver to the bank, free from any apprehension of extortion.

Seconded by the general good will of the people, the prefect was enabled to establish a well regulated police. The streets were regularly swept, the houses whitewashed, and the town acquired an air of neatness and comfort very unlike the state in which the patriots found it. The overland post, twice a month, between Potosi and Buenos Ayres, was re-established. The road from Leñas to Potosi, and that from Potosi to the confines of the department towards Chuquisaca, one of the worst in Peru, were repaired, to the extent of thirty leagues. Although Potosi was the last town in Peru that became independent, it was the first to raise a monument to its liberators; for, previous to Bolivar's arrival, an obelisk, sixty feet high, was erected in the principal square.

It has been asked by an entertaining writer of travels in South America, "What have the Indians gained by the revolution?" To this we answer, the abolition of the following horrid oppressions:

The mita,
Perpetual minority *,
Domestic servitude as *pongos*, and
The tribute.

Many reforms having been effected, useful institutions next became the object of consideration. It having been decided, that a college for the study of mineralogy should be established at Potosi, the prefect was authorized to take the necessary steps to procure professors, books, instruments, &c. It was afterwards determined that the course of instruction should be general, allowing mineralogy always to hold the first rank. Miller was to have been the patron of the new college. Amongst other preparatory measures, he inspected various public buildings, and made choice of the convent of San Francisco as the most suitable. His frequent visits there excited the fears of the monks. Perceiving this, he said, one day, to the prior, "I see you are alarmed. I will put an end to your suspense, by at once telling you my intention. I mean to recommend this convent to be taken for a collegial establishment. If you have any objections to this plan, write to the Liberator, to General Sucre, or to any one else, and state them. I will give you fair play; and if you are at last compelled to move, I promise that the change shall not be the worse for any of you." The monks, who had prepared to thwart, if possible, any proposal that interfered with their residence, seemed to be disarmed by this frank declaration, and threw no difficulties in the way; but Miller left Potosi before he could carry the projected plan into execution. The monks of this convent seldom slept within its walls.

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* According to the laws of the Indies, no Indian could enter into transactions above the value of fifty dollars without the sanction of the "*protector de los naturales*" (protector of the aborigines), an officer appointed by the king of Spain. There was one in every province. These "natural guardians," having great opportunities, fleeced the poor Indians without mercy.

Some years before this, a dreadful catastrophe happened to another of the monasteries, part of which had been used by the royalists as a powder magazine. One night, at twelve o'clock, during a tremendous storm, the lightning unfortunately struck the magazine, which exploded, and destroyed nearly the whole of the building. The next morning hardly a vestige of the immense pile was standing. Every one deplored the loss of the righteous friars, who had been its occupants. A most anxious search was made throughout the ruins for their hallowed remains. The people, thus piously occupied, were amazed from time to time by first one of the monks of the convent joining them, and then another, till, after toiling for nearly two hours, they had the satisfaction to discover that not one of the holy fathers had suffered from the dreadful calamity. Each of them very ingeniously accounted for his absence without compromising the sanctity of his character. It appeared that they all had been employed, as usual, in works of charity and general beneficence.

The intended visit of Bolivar to Potosi having been officially announced, Miller prepared the government-house* for the Liberator's reception. It is one of the finest and best-constructed residences between Lima and Buenos Ayres. The rooms are spacious, well-proportioned, and profusely ornamented with gilding, large mirrors, and elegant chandeliers. As carpets were not to be procured, the floor was covered with fine scarlet cloth, and the house refurnished, with a view to comfort as well as splendour. The town of Potosi being destitute of European luxuries, a number of mules were sent to Tacna for dinner-services, hardware, and glass. A considerable supply of wine, liqueurs, English porter and cider, and other articles, was procured. It was the custom of the prefect to give a dinner every Sunday to the heads of the different departments, together with some of the principal inhabitants. These persons became speedy converts to champaign, which, until then, had perhaps never been seen in Potosi. Claret and port were seldom suffered to pass untouched, but very few had at first the courage to venture upon malt liquor, until the antipathy gradually wore off by force of example, and then pale ale became the favourite beverage *.

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* No other house in Potosi has the convenience of a chimney. The *brasero* is used in cold weather, according to the Spanish custom.

English manufactures were at first exorbitantly dear. A glutted market soon reduced the price, and a general taste for them was diffused. The soldiers, who were paid once a month, usually laid out the disposable surplus in the purchase of articles of British fabric. The aboriginal population, whose garments had before been confined to the coarse woollens of the country, now bought English manufactures.

The society of Potosi was, at this time, rendered more than usually good by fortuitous circumstances. A number of the wives of royalist officers and civilians naturally retired to the place which held out the longest for the king. Twenty or thirty of these ladies were natives of Salta, where grace and beauty seem to have established their abode. The municipality, the merchants, and the officers of the garrison, gave splendid balls † in succession to the new prefect, who gave one in return. At these, as well as at private parties, there was as much beauty, elegance, and graceful dancing, and perhaps more gaiety and good-humoured frank-

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* After Miller left Potosi, he discovered that his servants were accustomed to sell to the Indians, who came into town from distant parts of the country, *empty* porter and wine bottles at a dollar, and a dollar and a half, each.

† A ball in South America opens with a minuet. Country-dances, waltzes, and dances peculiar to the country follow. Quadrilles are danced in Buenos Ayres and in Chile.

ness, than is to be met with in many European circles.

The society was further improved and enlivened by an influx of gentlemen, who came attended with a numerous civil staff, to bargain for mines, or to take possession of others purchased in London, sometimes of persons who had as much right to dispose of them, as of so many square leagues of ocean. Some of the mines so sold had been given away *. Other associations were formed at Buenos Ayres, Salta, Arequipa, &c., for getting legal possession of mines for the sole purpose of selling them to European speculators. These *retail* associations contributed also to increase the population of Potosi by the endless importation of agents, who, enjoying handsome salaries, and carried away by sanguine hopes, were amongst the most merry members of society.

While these gentlemen were busily employed in outbidding each other, or in bringing their multiform contracts to a conclusion, a circumstance occurred which produced a paralysing stand to business, and which will show that brains were crazed in Potosi as well as elsewhere. This was the announced arrival, at Cordova, of an Englishman who was never spoken of by any humbler denomination than THE GRAND COMMISSIONER. He was described to be the representative of a board of peers and princes, and to be amply furnished with the means, and duly empowered, to buy up *all* the mines of Peru. For a month, every succeeding morning produced its report of the daily progress of the grand commissioner. Government-house was haunted by anxious inquirers. The prefect himself was scarcely less solicitous to ascertain who it was that was about to honour the department with his presence. The expected arrival of Bolivar became, for the time, an object of secondary interest. Curiosity was strained to the utmost, but still the grand commissioner did not appear. Unlike his fellow-labourer in the same vineyard, unlike the HEAD commissioner, who crossed the Pampas on the wings of the wind; scaled the Andes with the *speed*, and gave to his descriptions the *vividness*, of lightning; who rode a race of six thousand miles against time, and came in a-HEAD; who, on his return to England, gave ROUGH NOTES, instead of polished ingots;—the GRAND commissioner, on the contrary, pursued no such meteor-like course. He neither outstripped the ostrich, nor frightened the viscacha; but advanced, with a measured stateliness, which gave leisure for every imagination in Potosi to become exceedingly inflamed. Sub-commissioners, secretaries, under-secretaries, mineralogists, smelters, chemists, draftsmen, surveyors, assayers, goldbeaters, silversmiths, chaplains, surgeons, and grave-diggers, were supposed to form his multitudinous retinue. While every mind was on the tenter-hooks of suspense, a letter, signed plain "JOSEPH ANDREWS," was received by the prefect, who thus discovered that *el Gran Comisionado Britanico* was no other than his highly esteemed friend Captain Andrews, now become agent of an association, the directors of which had, like others, raised their expectations to the highest pitch of extravagance. But, in the end, empty pockets were found to be the natural result of miscalculating heads, and severe disappointments arose on the very spot where nature had provided, for rational enterprise, the means of ample remuneration, had prudence been consulted, foresight employed, and economy adhered to. Captain Andrews was one of those who husbanded the resources of his employers, and at the same time acquired the confidence of the most respectable mineholders. Had he been sufficiently supported by the company he represented, he would have been able to have done more, at a comparatively trifling cost, than most of the rest of the mine-hunting brotherhood, who had gone to such enormous expense, particularly in sending out machinery which was never made use of. We do not consider ourselves competent to give a decided opinion upon mining affairs; but there are certainly many mines in Peru, particularly at Puno, Guantajaya, and Pasco, which, under proper management, offer the fairest prospect of profit; but disappointment or ruin must be the inevitable result of disproportionately expensive establishments.

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* Mines unworked for a year and a day become the property of any person who chooses to denounce, and claim them for the purpose of working them. The claimant has only to prove the fact, and to pay some small fees of office. This is called *giving them away*.

It would be a difficult task to decide whether the mismanagement of directors, or the cupidity of the British public, was most to blame in these matters. Certain it is, that the credulous and over-grasping multitude furnished ready means for the most lavish expenditure. Led astray by the dreams of avarice, people who had kept aloof from entering into those speculations whilst prices were low, and there was an apparent risk attending them, could not see without envy that their neighbours were beginning to realise considerable sums, by the steady advance in the value of the mining shares. They consequently hurried into the market, and bought all before them; and the more prices advanced the greater appeared their frenzy to become possessed of them: and this without any relation to the result of the enterprise itself, but merely to make money at the moment. Shares which at the outset bore a premium of from 15*l.* to 20*l.* per share, in the short space of six weeks rose to the enormous premium of 1700*l.* A shivering fit succeeded to this raging fever. The senseless panic of 1825 arrived, and fears as unreasonable as their previous visionary expectations increased the malady, and caused the ruin of hundreds of individuals. The dissolution of most of the mining companies ensued, and this at a moment when some of them had obtained fair prospects of success. The odium of these transactions was principally thrown upon the directors of the companies; but it should with more reason be applied to the public, who, after having shown themselves mad in the encouragement of these schemes, suddenly withdrew from the directors the means of carrying them on.

The silver mines of Guantajaya were discovered upwards of a century ago. They lie in a south-east direction from Iquique, at a distance of between two and three leagues. This is a small fishing town in 20° 12′ of south latitude. The harbour, which is good, is formed by an island lying to the westward. Guantajaya is a town which formerly contained three thousand inhabitants, but that number is now reduced to three hundred. Its mines, although always imperfectly worked, have produced large quantities of silver. They are the property of the family of De la Fuentes, of Arequipa. There is no water at Guantajaya, but it is supplied from wells seven leagues distant. Provisions are brought from Pico, Tarrapacá, and, by sea, from Chile, the passage being about seven days. As it never rains there, the country produces nothing. The climate however is the best in Peru. The ague and other diseases prevalent on the rest of the coast are there unknown. Iquique itself contains about three hundred inhabitants, and is extremely healthy. It is stated that the mortality amounted to only seven cases in fourteen years. In 1822, the *cura* produced the burial register to prove the truth of this assertion.

The gold washings, or *lavaderos*, of Tipuani, in the province of Larecaja, are about sixty leagues north-east of the city of La Paz. The gold is found in three streams which descend from that part of the cordillera called Ancoma, which is always covered with snow. These lavaderos have been worked from the time of the Incas, as is proved by implements occasionally discovered embedded in the alluvial soil; and what shows the tact and intelligence of the ancient Peruvians is, that this has invariably occurred in places which have proved to be the most productive. Gold, in *pepitas*, or grains, is found ten or twelve yards below the surface, in a stratum of clay from one to two yards in thickness. Its quality is twenty-three and a half carats. The working of the lavaderos is done by manual labour. The pits are kept free of water by means of buckets, although the mountains are covered with fine timber trees, and pumps could easily be made. The climate is hot, and agues are prevalent. The lavaderos cease at the point where the river Tipuani takes the name of Beni, and where it becomes navigable for boats till it joins the waters of the Amazons.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Peru are gradually beginning to experience the benefit which has been conferred upon them, by the repeal of ancient oppressive laws. In the districts that produce gold, their exertions will be redoubled, for they now work for themselves. They can obtain this precious metal by merely scratching the earth, and, although the collection of each individual may be small, the aggregate quantity thus obtained will be far from inconsiderable. As the aborigines attain comparative wealth, they will acquire a taste for the minor comforts of life. The consumption of European manufactures will be increased to an incalculable degree, and the effect upon the general commerce of the world will be sensibly perceived. It is for the first and most active manufacturing country in Christendom to take a proper advantage of the opening thus afforded. Already, in those countries, British manufactures employ double the tonnage, and perhaps exceed twenty times the value, of the importations from all other foreign nations put together. The wines and tasteful bagatelles of France, and the flour and household furniture of the United States, will bear no comparison in value to the cottons of Manchester, the linens of Glasgow, the broadcloths of Leeds, or the hardware of Birmingham. All this is proved by the great proportion of precious metals sent to England, as compared with the remittances to other nations. The very watches sent by Messrs. Roskell and Co., of Liverpool, would outbalance the exports of some of the *nations* which trade to South America.

CHAPTER XXX.

Upper Peru.—General assembly.—Its proceedings.—Republic of Bolivia.—Aggression of the Brazilians.—General Bolivar sets out from Lima.—His tour.—Arrival at Potosi.—Rejoicings.—Mine transactions.—The Liberator proceeds to Chuquisaca.—General Miller sets out on leave of absence for England.

THE provinces of Upper Peru, previous to the revolution, formed a part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. However, as the manners, customs, and even language, of the majority of the inhabitants were extremely dissimilar to those of the natives of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, the Argentine republic generously and judiciously relinquished its claim, and concurred in allowing it to decide upon its own political destiny, conformably to the known views of the Liberator and General Sucre. The latter was to continue the exercise of the supreme power until a new government should be regularly organized.

Fifty-four deputies were chosen to express the wishes of the people at large upon the question, whether Upper Peru should incorporate itself with Lower Peru; re-incorporate itself with Buenos Ayres; or declare itself an independent state. The general assembly met at Chuquisaca, in August, 1825, and proclaimed the national will to be, that Upper Peru should become an independent nation.

The deputies having fulfilled the object for which they had been convened, it was hoped, rather than expected, that they would have separated in order to make way for a general legislative body. Unwilling, however, to relinquish the captivating title of legislators, the deputies continued their session, and, assuming congressional powers, passed various laws. They decreed that Upper Peru should in future be called Bolivia. They put forth a declaration of independence, very proper in its intention, but so pompously written as almost to throw an air of ridicule over the whole proceeding. The assembly voted at the same time that its president, Doctor Serrano, should be styled and addressed as HIS EXCELLENCY. They next decreed that the deputies themselves should each receive a *dieta*, or daily allowance.

A million of dollars was voted to Bolivar, as a reward for his past eminent services; but the Liberator, with characteristic disinterestedness and magnanimity, accepted the grant only upon condition that the money should be employed in purchasing the liberty of about one thousand negro slaves existing in Bolivia. A million of dollars was also voted to those who had served in the campaign of 1824.

The assembly, not content with the pleasures of legislation only, assumed, on some occasions, the executive power. Sucre being absent from Chuquisaca, the assembly, in order to celebrate their own installation, and their adoption of a new name for the country, sent a circular to the prefects, desiring them to order *Te Deum* to be sung, salutes of artillery to be fired, and illuminations to be made. This order was not obeyed by the prefect of Potosi, in consequence of its not coming through the executive power. A call for money was also made soon afterwards by the assembly; but this demand met with the same fate, on the same account.

A few days after the affair of Ayacucho, and before the news of it could have crossed the western frontier line of Brazil, a party of about two hundred Brazilian troops took possession of the Upper Peruvian province of Chiquitos, in the name of the Emperor Don Pedro. The commanding officer wrote a letter of defiance, in the most inflated style, to Sucre. But so soon as a company of patriot infantry made its appearance, the bombastic Brazilians sneaked away, and, buccaneer-like, carried off a quantity of cattle, and other property of the unprotected peasantry. It was Sucre's wish to have sent fifteen hundred men, under the command of Miller, who it was expected would have found a strong republican feeling in the inland provinces, and who thus would have been enabled to have pushed on to Rio Janeiro, to prevent the repetition of any *imperial* aggression.

The projected advance upon Rio Janeiro may appear to have been most quixotic to those who only look to the immense breadth of the intervening territory. But the Peruvian force would have entered the Brazils, not as enemies, but as auxiliaries to a strong democratic party known to exist there. Information, subsequently obtained, confirmed the probability, and even the facility, of realizing the first expectation. But Bolivar did not approve of the plan, and it was, in consequence, laid aside.

The minister of the emperor signified to the governor of Matagrosso his majesty's disapprobation of this unauthorised marauding expedition. His majesty also desired that the cattle and other stolen property should be restored. The disavowal and the order were communicated by the governor of Matagrosso to the prefect of the department of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, of which Chiquitos is a province. It does not appear that the plundered property was ever restored, or any indemnification made. The Upper Peruvians of all parties long to avenge the insult; and such is the state of affairs now in that country, that unless peace should be concluded between the Brazils and Buenos Ayres, it is probable that Don Pedro may be reminded of the plundering excursion to Chiquitos.

On the 10th of February, 1825, Bolivar re-assembled, at Lima, the deputies of the congress of Lower Peru, and resigned the dictatorship; but he was solicited still to remain at the head of affairs. This he refused; but at length he acceded to the prayers of the people, with the appearance and expressions of the greatest reluctance.

Having decreed that a new congress should be installed on the 10th of February of the following year (1826), Bolivar set out from Lima on the 10th of April, 1825. Travelling along the coast, he arrived at Arequipa on the 15th of May, and left it on the 10th of June. He entered Cuzco on the 26th of the same month, and on the 26th of July set out for La Paz, where he arrived on the 18th of August, having remained a few days at Puno. He quitted La Paz on the 20th of September, and entered Potosi on the 5th of October.

The whole tour had been one continued triumph. On Bolivar's approach to the capitals of departments, the prefects, at the head of the public authorities, accompanied by a great part of the population, went out to meet him, and he was received with a degree of pomp and rejoicing highly flattering to his feelings. Triumphal arches were raised, costly presents were made to him, and grand dinners, balls, and bull-fights were given. The same honours were paid, on a smaller scale, at every town and village through which he passed. Cuzco and Potosi struck medals of copper, silver, and gold, to commemorate the Liberator's arrival in those cities.

Miller, after making every necessary arrangement for the reception of the Liberator, set out from Potosi, accompanied by deputies representing the municipality, clergy, corporations (*gremios*), and public offices, to meet his excellency on the frontier of the department, where a small obelisk had been erected, with an inscription commemorating his entrée. The date was placed when His Excellency appeared in sight.

The distance from Leñas, a hamlet on the frontier of the department, to Potosi is about seventeen leagues. The road was once one of the worst in Peru; in many places it was dangerous to pass it even upon a mule*. Two hundred Indians had for the preceding six weeks been employed upon it. In many places its direction was entirely changed. In short, the approach to Potosi, by this road, formerly so difficult, was now rendered comparatively easy. Wherever the ground allowed of it, branches of trees were stuck into the earth, and turned over the road, so as to form a kind of arcade. Doctor Don Leandro Usín, governor of Porco, an intelligent and active man, superintended this work with a zeal and ability which did him infinite credit. Possessing a large mining property, he had sided with the royalists to the last. On this account he was unpopular; but his useful talents, and experience, prevented his removal by the patriots from the office of governor of Porco, to which he had been appointed by the royalists.

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* An attempt had been once made to *introduce* a piano forte for the lady of one of the governors of Potosi, but it could not be accomplished. The badness of the road would not admit of its being carried even upon the shoulders of Indians, and it was conveyed back to the coast.

The Liberator halted at Leñas, where temporary buildings had been erected, and where about two thousand Indians, led by their respective caciques and curates, were assembled to receive him. A number of these Indians, fantastically ornamented with feathers and party-coloured garments, formed themselves into small groups, and danced before him as he went along. His excellency partook of a collation which had been prepared for him. The party then set forward, and arrived at Yocalla, a village seven leagues from Potosi, where it halted to dine, and remained for the night. At dawn on the following morning they resumed their journey, and breakfasted at ———, at the house of the curate. This worthy, but simple old gentleman, had long ardently desired the honour of being called "doctor." It was with the utmost delight that he had received the prefect's order to prepare for the reception of the Liberator. He set about decorating his house with the greatest alacrity, and did not scruple to borrow even the ornaments of his church for the occasion. He now hoped that the time was not far distant when he should attain the dignity for which he had so long panted. His Reverence possessed one qualification common to the majority of the learned profession, a smooth and eloquent tongue, and the wine sent by the prefect soon put it in motion. Although the meal was merely a breakfast, the curate asked permission to give three toasts, which he honestly declared had for the last month been almost the only subject of his meditations. The speeches by which he prefaced them highly amused the company. What he called toasts were orations, each of which occupied nearly half an hour in the delivery. He prefaced the first by addressing Bolivar, bowing at the same time till his head nearly touched the table, by the title of GRAN PRINCIPE (great prince); he next addressed Sucre, as valorous duke (DUQUE VALEROSO); and then the prefect, with something equally entertaining.

Finishing breakfast, the party proceeded. Upon coming up within two leagues of Potosi, it passed under the first of a series of triumphal arches, which became more frequent as they more closely approached the town. At every third or fourth arch was a party of about forty Indians, dressed out very gaudily, with plumes of feathers on their heads, who, led by their caciques, performed a sort of *ballet* as the Liberator passed. The dancers wore round their necks copper medals, and the caciques silver ones, having the head of Bolivar stamped upon them. The members of the municipality on horseback, in their robes of office, preceded by the two *alcaldes*, each of the latter carrying a huge gilt staff, came out to meet the procession. They were followed by the clergy and corporate bodies, who, upon meeting the Liberator, welcomed His Excellency with a complimentary harangue, and, upon receiving a gracious answer, fell into their places in the rear of the train. The Liberator soon outrode these gentlemen, whose tremendous spurs and massive silver-gilt maces were not sufficient to make their Rosinantes keep pace with Bolivar's ambling palfrey. To increase their difficulties, a string of mine agents, mounted on fiery steeds, got before them, without paying the slightest deference to the glittering wands of office. Crowds of Indians on foot, anxious to catch a glimpse of the Liberator, had placed themselves on the way-side, and falling into the procession, followed as soon as the principal personages had passed. The municipal gentlemen being separated from the head of the procession, cut, and slashed, and stormed, and threatened, but all in vain. The Indians, who had never until then disputed the highway, but would have fallen upon their knees to let the gilt staves pass, now good-humouredly, but boldly, kept possession of the road, and the horsemen were obliged to be content to move onwards with the stream. There was something particularly gratifying in this temperate indication of spirit, called forth at such an interesting moment. Colonel O'Leary having ridden, with some dragoons of the escort, a few yards ahead to clear the way; his horse taking fright, climbed up a precipitous craggy rock, and hung on, as it were, for some time by a sharp pinnacle. It was thought that both horse and rider must instantaneously fall, and be dashed to pieces on the broad stones of the high road. But fortunately the animal had that morning been shod, and the rough long-headed Spanish nails kept fast hold in the honey-combed surface of the rock. O'Leary being a bold and excellent horseman, kept his seat, and suffered his charger to have the rein. The sagacious animal turned round, descended a little way, made a desperate leap, and regained the road, without the slightest injury; to the astonishment and admiration of every one present.

When the Liberator came within a full and clear view of the far-famed Cerro of Potosi, the flags of Peru, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Colombia were at the same moment unfurled upon its summit. On his excellency's entering the town, twenty-one camaretas or large shells *, placed on the summit of the Cerro, were fired off, the report of each of which was equal to that of six twenty-four pounders. This aerial salute had a very singular and imposing effect. The deep valleys of the surrounding country echoed and re-echoed as if with claps of thunder. This was the signal of Bolivar's having entered Potosi. The bells of every church and convent rang with an almost deafening peal.

Two battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry were drawn up to preserve a clear passage

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* They might more properly be called petards. They are used on grand occasions by the monks.

through the streets, in all of which triumphal arches had been erected. The walls of every house were adorned with tapestry or silk hangings. Every window and balcony was thronged with ladies; the streets were crowded to suffocation; and ardent *vivas* were shouted, at the same moment, by above forty thousand people within the town.

Upon alighting at the government-house, under a grand triumphal arch, decorated with flags, the reception of His Excellency was according to the Hispano-American taste. Two children, dressed as angels, were let down from the arch as he approached, and each pronounced a short oration. Upon entering the grand saloon, six handsome women, representing the fair sex of Potosi, hailed the arrival of His Excellency, crowned him with a wreath of laurel, and strewed flowers, which had been brought from a great distance for the occasion. The accomplished wife of General Don Hilario de la Quintana welcomed him in elegant and animated terms. A fair damsel then stepped forward, and delivered a speech in a truly theatrical style. The talents of the learned Doctors Carpio and Tapià had been put in requisition to draw up this harangue. After devoting many anxious days and sleepless nights to the composition, each produced a speech deserving of immortality. A committee of taste gave the preference to that of Doctor Tapià, very much to the chagrin of his learned rival *. The next thing was to select a lady to give a graceful utterance to this quintessence of oratory. After much discussion, the amiable Sennita de la Puente was destined to enjoy the envied honour. She immediately commenced the task of committing it to memory, and frequently rehearsed it before her family and their intimate friends; and, when the all-important moment arrived, she acquitted herself in a manner which outstripped their fondest expectation.

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* Doctor Carpio is a very talented and promising young man, whose professional and local knowledge were occasionally of the utmost value to Miller.

Previous to partaking of any refreshment, His Excellency proceeded to hear high mass performed in the principal church. The streets were lined with troops. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired as the Liberator left the government-house. Sucre walked on his right hand, and the prefect on his left. They were preceded by the *alcaldes*, *ministros*, municipality, members of the different corporations and employés, and were followed by their respective staffs, together with a vast concourse of the inhabitants. At the door of the church His Excellency was received by the clergy, who sprinkled him with holy water, and conducted him, under a canopy, to a seat richly covered with velvet. A second salute was fired on the Liberator's return. *Te Deum* was performed on successive days at the other churches, at all of which His Excellency assisted in state.

The first days of the Liberator's residence in Potosi were principally taken up in receiving congratulatory addresses. They had been drawn up with great care, deep study, and with an ungrudging proportion of the flowers of rhetoric. Bolivar particularly excels in giving elegant and appropriate extempore replies. In one day he gave seventeen successive answers, each of which might have been printed off as he spoke it, and would have been admired for its peculiar applicability to the occasion. In proposing a toast; in returning thanks; or in speaking upon any given subject, perhaps Bolivar cannot be surpassed. This useful accomplishment alone must have acquired for him many admirers and supporters in the course of his career.

Bull-fights, grand dinners, balls, fire-works, illuminations, and other signs of public rejoicing, continued for the seven weeks that the Liberator remained in Potosi. The various persons in the civil service had raised a subscription to defray the expense of purchasing silver, and of stamping several thousand small medals, bearing an inscription complimentary to the Liberator of Peru. A few hundreds were thrown into the streets every day by ladies, who stationed themselves in the balconies of houses for that purpose; and this daily scramble for tokens was an additional attraction to the Indians, who visited the town of Potosi in great numbers during the residence of the Liberator. On the 26th, he ascended the Cerro, accompanied by Sucre, by the prefect, and all the persons of distinction in Potosi. A sort of collation was given upon the summit. Patriotic toasts were drank. Bolivar prefaced one of them by observing, "that the immense riches buried in the Andes, then beneath his feet, vanished into nothing, when compared with the glory of having borne the standard of liberty from the sultry margin of the Orinoco, to fix it upon the frigid peak of that mountain, whose riches had been the astonishment and envy of the world."

A few days after the entrance of the Liberator, General Alvear and Doctor Dias Velez arrived from Buenos Ayres to compliment His Excellency in the name of the government of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. With these gentlemen came Captain Andrews, the *grand commissioner* before spoken of; but so much was the public mind occupied by the festivities, that his arrival excited but little interest. Besides this, a damp had been thrown upon mining speculations, by the Liberator having decreed that all unworked mines should be the property of the state *, and that they should thenceforward be *sold*, instead of being *given away*, according the old laws of *mineria*. Agreeably to this new regulation, the government offered for sale the whole of the unappropriated mines of Upper Peru. A million of dollars was bid for them by the representatives of a company in Buenos Ayres. The agreement was drawn up, signed, and was to have been ratified in thirty days. In the mean time, the agents of another company offered twelve hundred thousand dollars; but Captain Andrews surpassed them both, by offering a million and a half. Bolivar, however, considering that a still higher price was to be obtained in London, named agents to proceed to that mart of credulity for the purpose of negotiating the matter; but, before they reached Buenos Ayres, they found the bubble had burst in England, and they proceeded no further than the shores of the Plata.

During Miller's residence at Potosi, a severe indisposition rendered it necessary for him to take the sulphurated chalybeate baths of Don Diego, five leagues distant from the town, on the road to Chuquisaca. The waters at the spring are 100° of Fahrenheit. Miller received little relief: his complaint originated in the liver, which was supposed to have been grazed by a musket-ball as it passed through the body. His general health continuing far from good, he was advised by Dr. Nicol, an eminent English surgeon who had attended him at Puno, to proceed to London for the sake of obtaining the best surgical advice. The struggle for independence being over, and the General considering himself at liberty to gratify his anxious desire to revisit his native country, had applied for two years' leave of absence in August, previous to Bolivar's arrival at Potosi. The Liberator and Sucre made the most flattering and earnest requests for him to continue at the head of his departmental government; but, the state of his health absolutely requiring that he should visit Europe, he reiterated his request for leave of absence, which he obtained, and gave over his command to General Urdiminea on the 24th of October, 1825.

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* The impolicy of this decree was soon discovered, and it has since been revoked.

Miller received bills upon the Peruvian agents in London for twenty thousand dollars, being his share of the million of dollars granted by Upper Peru to the liberating army. Bolivar was, at the same time, pleased to do him the unsolicited honour of sending the following testimonial*:

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* A los que la presente vieren, saludo. Certifico que el General de division D. Guillermo Miller ha estado a mis ordenes en toda la campaña del año vein-

"To all whom the present may concern, greeting.

"I certify that the General of division Don Guillermo Miller served under my orders throughout the campaign of 1824, during which he performed his duty in a manner worthy of admiration. The command of our cavalry devolved upon him at the battle of Junin, in which he acquitted himself with the valour by which he has always been distinguished. He retained the same command at Ayacucho, where he displayed that intrepidity and tact which so much contributed to the victory.

"General Miller was amongst the first who undertook to achieve the freedom of Peru, and is one of those who remained to the last to behold its triumph. His activity, moderation, and private worth obtained for him the esteem of his commanders, whilst in the districts and departments over which he presided he is respected as a good magistrate.

"General Miller has never taken part in any of the factions which have agitated Peru: on the contrary, the successive governments, and the various generals who commanded the army, have all placed unlimited

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ticuatro, en la cual ha cumplido con su deber de un modo digno de admiracion. En el combate de Junin quedó mandando nuestra caballeria, con el valor que siempre le ha distinguido. En Ayacucho tubo el mismo mando, y lo desempeñó con aquella intrepidez y acierto que tanto contribuyeron a la victoria. El General Miller fue de los primeros que emprendieron la libertad del Peru, y es de los ultimos que la ha visto triumfar. Su actividad, su moderacion, y su conducta moral lo han hecho recomendable a los ojos de sus gefes, y los pueblos que ha mandado, lo han respetado como a un buen magistrado. El General Miller no ha participado jamas de ninguna de las facciones que han tenido en el Peru: por el contrario, los gobiernos sucesivos, y los diferentes generales, que han mandado el egercito, han puesto entera confianza en su fidelidad. Por consecuencia de estos servicios, el gobierno del Peru ha recompensado dignamente al General D. Guillermo Miller. Dado en el cuartel general de Potosi, a 29 de Octubre de 1825.

Por O. de S. E. (Firmado) Bolivar,

Felipe Santiago Estenós, Secretario-general.

confidence in his fidelity. In consequence of these services, the government of Peru has honourably recompensed General Don Guillermo Miller. Given at head-quarters in Potosi, the 29th of October, 1825.

"(Signed) BOLIVAR.

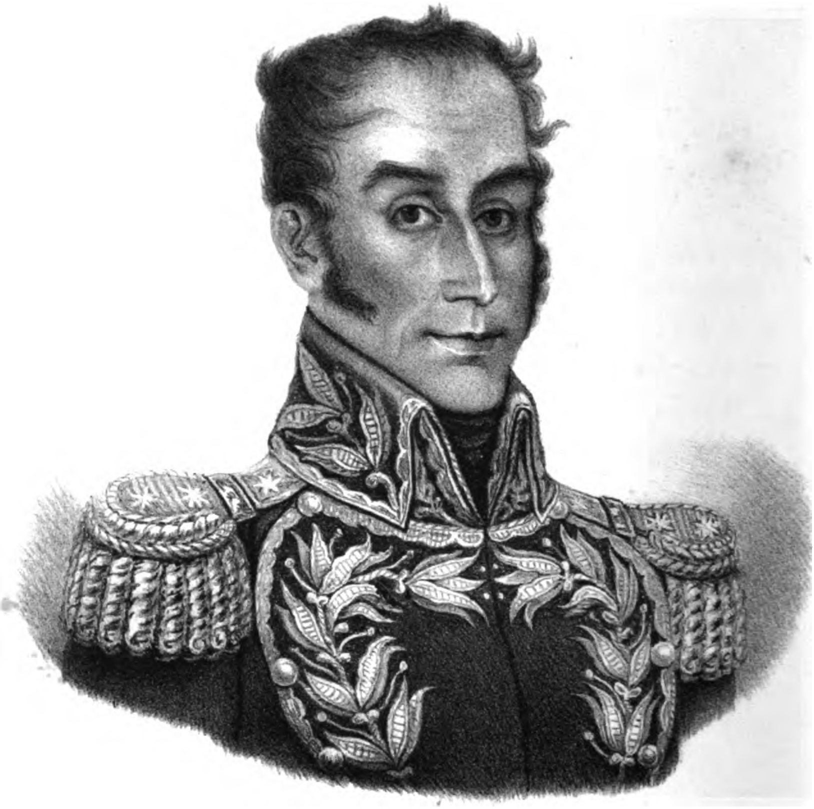
"By order of his Excellency,
(countersigned)
FELIPE SANTIAGO ESTENÓS, Secretary-general."

On the 1st of November the Liberator left Potosi, and proceeded to Chuquisaca. Miller followed two days afterwards, and remained there until the 11th, when he took leave of Bolivar, and returned to Potosi. Chuquisaca is the seat of an university, and may be called the Oxford of Peru. Its climate is the most delicious that can be imagined.

Miller set out from Potosi on the morning of the 26th November. The street in front of his house was crowded with people of all classes. General Urdiminea; the officers of the garrison; the heads of departments; the members of the municipality; of the *gremios;* and many of the clergy, all on horseback, accompanied the General a considerable distance on the road.

He received from all of them the most satisfactory demonstrations of their good wishes. They expressed their deep regret at the determination he had taken; lamented the necessity which had compelled him to it; and urged, with the most earnest entreaties, his speedy return.

Notwithstanding the intense desire which the General felt to be again in England, he could not leave these warm-hearted people without feelings of the most poignant regret. It was some days before he could altogether shake off the depression of spirits caused by this interesting separation.



BOLIVAR.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Biographical sketch of General Bolivar.—His staff.—Dr. Moore.—Colonel O'Leary.—Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson.—Colonel Belford Wilson.

The conspicuous part which Bolivar has acted throughout the revolution in Colombia, and at the close of that in Peru, renders it imperative on us to give some account of a character, identified with so many great and extraordinary events.

When the Liberator was in Potosi, he casually remarked that, of the numerous biographies which had been written of him, not one of them could claim the merit of accuracy. Upon this Miller observed, that as, on his arrival in Europe, he would be expected to possess considerable information on the subject, he should be glad to be furnished with some correct data from which he should be able satisfactorily to reply to any inquiries. In consequence, General Sucre was good enough to draw up an outline of the Liberator's career; and, notwithstanding its imperfections, arising from its being hastily performed, the source whence it is derived will render it peculiarly interesting. A great part of the following sketch is an abridged translation of that document.

Simon Bolivar was born at Caracas on the 25th of July, 1783. He lost his parents at an early age; and, in his sixteenth year, was sent to Europe to finish his education. He made the tour of France and Italy. Having married at Madrid, he embarked for Venezuela, where his wife died a few months after her arrival. Bolivar went a second time to Europe, and was present at the coronation of Napoleon. He returned to Caracas in company with Emparan, appointed captain general of Venezuela by the central junta at Seville. Soon after the raising of the standard of independence (19th April, 1810) in that country, he was sent to solicit the protection of Great Britain. He was well received by the Marquess Wellesley, then secretary for foreign affairs. The British government offered its mediation between Spain and her colonies, but the offer was rejected by the court of Madrid. Bolivar returned to his own country, accompanied by General Miranda, who was placed in command of the Venezuelan troops. But the revolutionary government was too feebly organized to give efficiency to the military force. Divisions arose, and the cause of independence was on the retrograde, when the dreadful earthquake of 1812, and the subsequent invasion by the Spanish force under General Monteverde, for the time, precluded all possibility of success.

Bolivar, alleging that Miranda had betrayed his country by capitulating to Monteverde, arrested him at La Guayra. Bolivar then demanded his passport, and when taken before Monteverde, the Spanish general said that Colonel Bolivar's request should be complied with, as a reward for his having served the King of Spain by delivering up Miranda. Bolivar answered that he arrested him to punish a traitor * to his country, and not to serve the king. This answer had nearly included him in the general proscription; but the good offices of Don Francisco Iturbe, secretary to Monteverde, procured the passport, and Bolivar was allowed to sail for Curaçoa. From that island he went to Carthagena, where he obtained the command of a small force, with which he proceeded up the Magdalena, and having beaten parties of the royalist troops at various points on that river, he continued his march from Ocaña to Cucutá, and solicited assistance from the government of Cundinamarca. Five hundred men were placed at his disposal, and with these, added to his own small party, Bolivar undertook to effect the liberation of his country. Four thousand Spaniards, under General Correa, were then on that part of the Venezuelan frontier. A division of these was beaten by Bolivar, who pursued his march to Truxillo, defeating on the way several royalist detachments.

The Spaniards, from the commencement of the war, had put to death all persons whom they found with arms in their hands. The South Americans, on the contrary, gave quarter to those royalists who fell into their power. The natives consequently preferred entering the royalist ranks, feeling secure that, in case of being made prisoners, their lives would

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* Bolivar seems to have been hurried into a dreadful error by the warmth of his feelings. Not only is the *expediency* of the capitulation admitted by eye-witnesses of the first respectability, but also that Miranda had no other alternative. The rich and influential inhabitants withheld their support, not that their political sentiments had undergone a change, but because they saw the uselessness of sacrificing property and life in a wild attempt to stem the stream of public opinion; the bulk of the people having become decidedly royalist in principle ever since the earthquake, which had been represented by the priesthood as a judgment of Heaven upon the insurgent cause.

be spared. Bolivar, perceiving the great disadvantage under which he laboured, and as a retaliation for the horrid butcheries committed by the Spaniards, issued a proclamation at Truxillo, declaring, that from that time forward he should wage a war of extermination. This declaration of *guerra à muerte* on the part of the independents made the danger, in that respect, equal on both sides.

Bolivar, having separated his small corps into two divisions, intrusted the command of the second to the active General Rivas. Bolivar himself penetrated the Llanos, after having beaten the Spaniards at Niquitao, Carache, Varinas, Tahuana, and Torcones. He then advanced to Vitoria, within twenty leagues of Caracas, where he was met by Spanish commissioners, who sued for, and obtained, a capitulation. The conqueror entered his native city in triumph. But this did not put an end to the war. The Spaniards were faithless in the observance of the capitulation, and Monteverde, from within the walls of Puerto Cabello, fomented the discord which prevailed in the interior provinces. About this time a strong reinforcement arrived from Spain. Bolivar was obliged to evacuate Caracas; but the royalists were beaten at Viguirima, Barbula, and Las Trincheras. However, the Spanish general Cevallos had time to raise four thousand recruits in the province of Coro, which had always shown itself inimical to the cause of independence. Bolivar next gained the important battle of Araure, and repossessed himself of Caracas. On the 2d January, 1814, he assembled the public authorities of the city, and resigned to them the supreme authority he had exercised, and with which his triumphs had invested him. They, however, refused to admit his resignation; conferred upon him the title of LIBERATOR OF VENEZUELA; and named him Dictator.

About this period a Spaniard, Don José Tomas Boves, succeeded in bringing about a counter-revolution in the Llanos, an immense tract of level country, which traverses the centre of Venezuela, and extends to the confines of New Granada. Boves organized a force, which consisted of men mostly chosen for their desperate character, whom he led on by promises of indiscriminate plunder, and by lavishing the greatest rewards upon the perpetrators of the most revolting atrocities. The track of these ruffians, to Calabozo, was every where marked with the blood of the aged and the defenceless. Bolivar, who had detached a part of his force in pursuit of Cevallos, had not above two thousand men left to make head against Boves, who, with nearly five times that number, had possessed himself of the fertile valleys of Aragua, and destroyed some patriot divisions sent to check his progress. Bolivar took up a position at San Mateo, in order to cover Caracas. A series of attacks, in the space of forty days, reduced the number of Bolivar's force to four hundred. Cevallos had repaired the effects of his defeat at Araure, and, reinforced by General Cagigal, had penetrated to Valencia. The patriot division of the east having defeated Boves at Bocachica, and compelled him to retire to the Llanos, and having subsequently united with the remains of Bolivar's force, marched against

Cagigal and Cevallos, whose well-organized troops amounted to six thousand. These were attacked and defeated by Bolivar, who then detached the greater part of his force to reduce the province of Coro to submission, and himself marched against Boves. Bolivar was overwhelmed by numbers at La Puerta. His division dispersed, and fled to Cundinamarca. He was then obliged to abandon Caracas. The same day witnessed the affecting spectacle of several thousand inhabitants leaving their homes and property at the mercy of the ruthless spoiler, while they themselves set out to face want, disease, and death, in distant provinces.

On the 17th of August Bolivar lost the battle of Aragua. The subsequent affairs of Maturin, Cumaná, Carupano, Guiria, Urica, and El Caris, were fought, with varying success. All being lost in the east, Bolivar next proceeded to Carthagena, and offered his services to New Granada, then agitated by discordant parties of provincialists, centralists, metropolists, federalists, royalists, and independents. A congress assembled at Tunja conferred upon Bolivar the command of the forces of New Granada. Santa Fé de Bogotá submitted, the provinces acknowledged the congress, and an effort was made to establish a constitutional form of government.

Bolivar having proposed to take the town of Santa Marta, still held by the Spaniards, he was authorized by the government of Santa Fé to procure guns, &c., from the arsenals of Carthagena. The governor of that fortress refused to furnish the necessary supplies. In order to enforce compliance, Bolivar invested Carthagena, before which he remained a considerable time, when he heard of the arrival at Margarita of General Morillo, with ten thousand Spanish troops. Upon this, Bolivar placed his own investing force at the disposal of his rival, the governor of Carthagena; and, unwilling that the cause of his country should continue to suffer from the dissension which had arisen between himself and the governor, withdrew to Jamaica. Morillo, soon afterwards, laid siege to Carthagena, which, unfortunately, in consequence of the long investment it had already sustained, was nearly destitute of provisions. Bolivar sent from Jamaica some supplies for the besieged garrison; but before they could arrive, that important fortress was in possession of the Spaniards. This enabled them to reconquer New Granada, and the blood of its citizens was made to stream from the scaffold.

At Kingston, Bolivar narrowly escaped assassination. The casual circumstance of exchanging apartments with another person, caused the murderer's dagger to be planted in the heart of a faithful follower, instead of in that of Bolivar. The author of these Memoirs happened to live, for a few days, in the same boarding-house. Some officers of a British line-of-battle ship, not speaking Spanish, requested him to invite Bolivar, in their name, to dine with them. This was only a few weeks previous to the intended assassination of Bolivar.

From Jamaica, Bolivar went to Hayti, and was received at Port-au-Prince by Petion, with kind hospitality, and was assisted by him as far as his means would allow.

In April, 1816, he sailed with three hundred men to Margarita, which island had lately again shaken off the Spanish yoke. He arrived at Juan Griego, where he was proclaimed supreme chief of the republic. On the 1st of June he sailed, and on the 3d landed at Campano, where he beat nine hundred Spaniards. He then opened a communication with patriot chieftains, who had maintained themselves in isolated parties dispersed over the *llanos* of Cumanà, Barcelona, and the Apure. It is a curious fact, that the isolation of several of these parties was so complete that, for many months, they did not know of any other than themselves being in arms for the delivery of their country. It was only by their coming into accidental contact that they discovered that there was more than one patriot guerrilla in existence*. Bolivar supplied some of them with arms, and at the same time augmented his own force to a thousand men. The Spaniards assembled in superior numbers to destroy them; but Bolivar embarked, and relanded at Ocumare, with an intention of taking Caracas: great part, however, of the Spanish army having by this time returned from New Granada to Venezuela, Bolivar was obliged to re-embark for Margarita.

In 1817 he landed near Barcelona, where he collected seven hundred recruits, and marched towards

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* For the honour of the *llaneros*, this circumstance ought to be more distinctly detailed.

Caracas; but, being worsted in an affair at Clarines, he fell back again upon Barcelona, where he shut himself up with four hundred men, and made a successful resistance against a superior force.

Bolivar received some reinforcements from the interior of the province of Cumaná, upon which he decided upon making the banks of the Orinoco the theatre of his future efforts. Having further augmented his force, and taken the necessary steps to keep alive the war in the districts on the coast, he marched to the interior, beating several small royalist parties which he encountered on his route.

Of the Spanish army which had returned from New Granada, a division, under the brave General La Torre, was destined to act against the patriots in Guayana. A division of the latter, under General Piar, having obtained a decisive victory, Bolivar was enabled to invest Angostura, and the town of Old Guayana, which were successively taken on the 3d and 18th of July.

In Angostura, Piar was found guilty, by a court-martial, of an attempt to excite a war of colour. Piar (a man of colour himself) was the bravest of the brave, and adored by his followers; but his execution stifled anarchy in the bud.

The rest of the year 1817 was actively spent in organizing a force to act against Morillo, who had lately been reinforced by two thousand fresh troops from the Peninsula, under General Canterac, then on his way from Spain to Peru. An abundant supply of arms, received from England, was sent to the patriot corps on the banks of the Apure.

Early in 1818, the supreme chief, after concentrating his forces, marched rapidly to Calabozo, and arrived before Morillo was aware that he had quitted Angostura. The Spanish general effected his retreat to Aragua. The supreme chief came up with him at La Usirrael, but could make but a slight impression on the enemy, on account of the strength of his position. Another rencontre occurred at Sombrero. Morillo retired to Valencia; and Bolivar took possession of the valleys of Aragua. Thence he detached a strong division to take San Fernando de Apure, in order to complete the conquest of the Llanos. Upon this the Spaniards advanced. The two armies met at Semen. Morillo was wounded, and the royalist army put to flight. The pursuit being indiscreetly conducted by the patriots, and a fresh royalist division arriving to support Morillo, the fortune of the day was changed. Each party was alternately defeated, and both rallied their dispersed corps to re-engage at Ortiz.

The division which succeeded in capturing San Fernando had an indecisive affair at Cojedes. Others of the same character took place at El Rincon del Toro, and other places.. At the close of this campaign, the Spaniards held Aragua, and the patriots San Fernando. Thus the former possessed the most fertile provinces of Venezuela, and all New Granada; while the latter were reduced to the Llanos and Guayana. Arms were sent to General Santander, who was endeavouring to raise a division in Casanare.

In 1819, the various corps united in San Fernando, where the supreme chief devoted his labours to the regulation of civil affairs. He invited the provinces to send deputies to Angostura, to form a general congress, and then delegated his powers to a council of government to act in his absence.

With four or five thousand men, the supreme chief opened the campaign against Morillo, who had six or seven thousand. Twelve hundred British troops arrived at Margarita from England. They had been engaged in London by Colonel English, and were equipped and sent out by Messrs. Herring and Richardson: besides these, eight hundred others also arrived at Angostura. The latter were engaged by Captain Elsom, and sent out by Messrs. Hurry, Powles, and Hurry; the greater part were disbanded soldiers from the British army, reduced on the return of the troops from France *. These volunteers were equipped in the most efficient manner. With these expeditions large supplies of spare arms were sent to assist the cause of independence. Bolivar, in his speech to congress, thus expresses himself on this subject:

"For these important advantages we are indebted to the unbounded liberality of some generous foreigners, who, hearing the groans of suffering humanity, and seeing the cause of freedom, reason, and justice ready to sink, would not remain quiet, but flew to our succour with their munificent aid and protection, and furnished the republic with every thing needful to cause their philanthropical principles to flourish.

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* Colonel Macirone also sent out above two thousand men, who were employed in the capture of Porto Bello and Rio de la Hacha. This caused a very favourable diversion for Bolivar in Venezuela, as it distracted the attention of the royalists, and but for the pusillanimous conduct of Macgregor, who commanded the expedition, might have proved of lasting advantage.

Those friends of mankind are the guardian geniuses of America, and to them we owe a debt of eternal gratitude, as well as a religious fulfilment of the several obligations contracted with them."

Bolivar, leaving the army in command of General Paez, repaired to Angostura. As Morillo advanced, Paez, agreeably to orders, retired towards the Orinoco, detaching a few guerrillas to harass the Spaniards in the rear.

General Urdaneta was appointed to command the recently arrived British legion in Margarita, which was to act on the side of Caracas, in order to draw off the attention of Morillo from the Llanos.

On the 15th of February, 1819, congress was installed at Angostura. The supreme chief pronounced an eloquent discourse, and resigned his authority. Congress immediately, and unanimously, elected him president of the republic.

Early in March, the president rejoined the army, which was very much reduced by sickness. On the 27th, he defeated the vanguard of the Spaniards. Adopting a desultory system of warfare, he obliged them to recross the Apure, having lost half their original numbers.

While Morillo remained in winter quarters, the president traversed the vast plains of the Apure and Casanare, which are rendered almost impassable by inundations from the month of May to the end of August. In Casanare, the president formed a junction with the division of Santander, two thousand strong. Santander had, from the commencement of the revolution, dedicated himself with enthusiastic constancy to the cause of his country. He now expelled the Spaniards from their formidable position of Paya, and opened the way for the president to cross the terrific Andes, in effecting which, nearly a fourth of his army perished from the effects of cold and excessive fatigue.

On the 11th of July, the president attacked the royal army at Gamarra. After a long engagement, the Spanish general Barrero retired, and did not again offer battle, excepting in positions almost inaccessible. Bonza was invested by the patriots for some days in sight of both armies. The president, by a flank movement, brought the Spaniards to action on the 25th of July at Bargas. The Spaniards, though superior in numbers, and advantageously posted, gave way, and the president obtained a complete victory. His inferior forces, however, and the nature of the country, did not allow him to make the most of this glorious success; but he obtained a thousand recruits, and marched to interpose between the defeated Barrero and the viceroy Samano, who, with all the disposable force south of Bogotá, was about to support Barrero. The result of the president's daring and masterly movement was the battle of Boyacá, fought on the 7th of August, and which has been called the *birth of Colombia.* In this battle, the English troops, under the command of Major Mackintosh, greatly distinguished themselves. The gallant Major was promoted by the Liberator on the field. In three days afterwards the president entered Bogotá in triumph, and, within a short period, eleven provinces of New Granada announced their adhesion to the cause of independence.

Bolivar repaired to Angostura, where he once more resigned his authority to the representatives of the people, and laid on their floor the trophies of the last campaign. On the 25th December, 1819, congress, at the suggestion of the president, decreed that thenceforth Venezuela and New Granada should form one republic, under the denomination of COLOMBIA. At the same time it conferred upon Bolivar the title of LIBERATOR OF COLOMBIA, and re-elected him president of the republic.

In March, 1820, he arrived at Bogotá, and occupied himself until August in the organization of the army cantoned at various points between Cucutá and San Fernando de Apure.

The Spanish revolution, which originated in the Isla de Leon, inspired the South Americans with new hopes. These were raised still higher by the solicitude of Morillo to negotiate an armistice; but Bolivar, refusing to treat upon any other basis than that of independence, marched to the department of the Magdalena, reviewed the besieging force before Carthagena, and reinforced the division of the south, destined to act against Popayan and Quito. The president drove the Spaniards from the provinces of Merida and Truxillo, and established his winter head-quarters at the latter town.

On the 26th November, the president concluded an armistice of six months with Morillo, who engaged that, on the renewal of hostilities, the war should be carried on, conformably to the practice of civilized nations.

In the beginning of the year 1821, the Liberator went to Bogotá, to attend to the affairs of the south; when hearing of the arrival at Caracas of Spanish commissioners to treat for peace, he returned to Truxillo; but no terms were then agreed upon. In the meanwhile, the province of Maracaybo shook off the Spanish yoke. Morillo having departed for Europe, General La Torre, a brave and very superior man, succeeded to the command of the royal army, and made strong remonstrances against the movement in the province of Maracaybo, which he deemed an infraction of the armistice, and hostilities in consequence recommenced. The Liberator concentrated his forces in Varinas; he detached a division to the coast under General Urdaneta, and another to the east, under General Bermudez, to divide the attention of the enemy, and marched himself against Caracas. On the 24th of June, the Liberator attacked and defeated the Spaniards, who had taken up a strong position at Carabobo. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal. This battle decided the fate of Colombia. The victorious Liberator entered Caracas on the 29th. On the 2d of July, La Guayra also surrendered to him.

Leaving a besieging division before Puerto Cabello, the Liberator went to Cucuta, where he resigned once more the office of president of the republic, which, in admiration of his disinterestedness, instantly re-elected him.

When the province of Guayaquil declared itself independent, it solicited the assistance of Bolivar against the Spaniards in Quito. A small division was accordingly sent there.

The Liberator, having signed the constitution sanctioned by congress, obtained leave to direct the war in the south. In January, 1822, he put himself at the head of the army in Popayan, and sent a reinforcement to General Sucre in Guayaquil.

In the month of March, the Liberator moved against the province of Pasto, the inhabitants of which country are surpassed in bravery by no people in the world, but who adhered with blind attachment to the ancient régime. The Liberator, having overcome the obstacles presented by nature in the valleys of Patia, and the formidable river Guanabamba, arrived in front of Bomboná. The *Pastusos* (inhabitants of the province of Pasto) had here taken up a strong position, supported by the Spanish troops. They were vigorously attacked; but every charge made in front was repulsed. It was not until the rifle battalion, commanded by the able Colonel Sands, outflanked the *Pastusos*, that victory declared for Bolivar; but his army had suffered so severely, that, instead of immediately following up the fugitives through a hostile country, it fell back a short distance.

Whilst these operations were going on, Sucre liberated the provinces of Loja and Cuenca, and, on the 24th of May, gained the victory of Pinchincha, which gave independence to Quito. In the same year Carthagena and Cumaná surrendered to the liberating forces in Venezuela.

The Liberator entered Quito on the 16th of June. His attention was soon attracted to the discontents which had arisen at Guayaquil, where the Colombians had become unpopular. His excellency proceeded to that town, and, under his auspices, the provisional government annexed the province to Colombia.

One of the results of the interview which took place between the protector of Peru and the liberator of Colombia was the sending of an auxiliary force of two thousand Colombians to Lima; but the junta, which succeeded to the protectorate, ordered the Colombian troops to return to Guayaquil. The president Riva Aguero, who succeeded to the junta, applied for an auxiliary Colombian division of six thousand men, and invited Bolivar to take the command of all the military forces in Peru. The Colombian troops were sent to Lima. General Bolivar obtained leave from the congress at Bogotá to go to Peru. His arrival there has been described in the proper place.

The person of Bolivar is thin, and somewhat below the middle size. He dresses in good taste, and has an easy military walk. He is a very bold rider, and capable of undergoing great fatigue. His manners are good, and his address unaffected, but not very prepossessing. It is said that, in his youth, he was rather handsome. His complexion is sallow; his hair, originally very black, is now mixed with gray. His eyes are dark and penetrating, but generally downcast, or turned askance, when he speaks; his nose is well formed, his forehead high and broad, the lower part of the face is sharp; the expression of the countenance is careworn, lowering, and sometimes rather fierce. His temper, spoiled by adulation, is fiery and capricious. His opinions of men and things are variable. He is rather prone to personal abuse, but makes ample amends to those who will put up with it. Towards such his resentments are not lasting. He is a passionate admirer of the fair sex, but jealous to excess. He is fond of waltzing, and is a very quick, but not a very graceful, dancer. His mind is of the most active description. When not more stirringly employed, he is always reading, dictating letters, &c. or conversing. His voice is loud and harsh, but he speaks eloquently on most subjects. His reading has been principally confined to French authors; hence the Gallic idioms so common in his productions. He is an *impressive* writer, but his style is vitiated by an affectation of grandeur. Speaking so well as he does, it is not wonderful that he should be more fond of hearing himself talk than of listening to others, and apt to engross conversation in the society he receives. He entertains numerously; and no one has more skilful cooks, or gives better dinners; but he is himself so very abstemious, in both eating and drinking, that he seldom takes his place at his own table until the repast is nearly over, having probably dined in private upon a plain dish or two. He is fond of giving toasts, which he always prefaces in the most eloquent and appropriate manner; and his enthusiasm is so great that he frequently mounts his chair, or the table, to propose them. Although the cigar is almost universally used in South America, Bolivar never smokes, nor does he permit smoking in his presence. He is never without proper officers in waiting, and keeps up a considerable degree of etiquette. Disinterested in the extreme with regard to pecuniary affairs, he is insatiably covetous of fame. Bolivar invariably speaks of England, of her institutions, and of her great men, in terms of admiration. He often dwells with great warmth upon the constancy, fidelity, and sterling merit of the English officers who have served in the cause of independence, under every varying event of the war. A further proof of his predilection towards England is that he has always had upon his personal staff a number of British subjects.

The surgeon who constantly attended him was Dr. Moore, an Irishman, who had followed the Liberator from Venezuela to Peru. He is a man of great skill in his profession, and devotedly attached to the person of the Liberator. Bolivar's first aide-de-camp, Colonel O'Leary, is a nephew of the celebrated Father O'Leary. In 1818 he embarked, at the age of seventeen, in the cause of South American independence, in which he has served with high distinction, having been present at almost every general action fought in Colombia, and has received several wounds. He has been often employed on diplomatic missions, and in charges of great responsibility, in which he has always acquitted himself with great ability.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, already mentioned as a distinguished officer of rifles, was also an aide-de-camp. He too was an Irishman by birth. When a mere youth, he quitted a counting-house at Demerara, and joined the patriot standard. During the war of extermination, he was taken by the Spaniards. He was led, with several others, from a dungeon at La Guayra, for the purpose of being shot on the sea shore. Having only a pair of trousers on, his fair skin was conspicuous amongst his unfortunate swarthy companions, and attracted the attention of the boat's crew, of an English man-of-war, casually on the strand. One of the sailors ran up to him, and asked if he was an Englishman. Ferguson was too much absorbed by the horror of his situation to give an answer; but, on the question being repeated, he replied, "I am an Irishman." "I too am an Irishman," said the sailor, "and, by Jesus, no Spanish rascals shall murder a countryman of mine in daylight if I can help it!" Upon which he ran off to his officer, who interceded with the Spanish governor, and the life of Ferguson was saved. He related this incident to Miller, who has forgotten the name of the English man-of-war, and also that of the generous preserver of the gallant Ferguson. This unfortunate officer fell a sacrifice in the defence of Bolivar, on the night of the conspiracy at Bogota, in September, 1828. It is a matter of regret that we do not possess sufficient data to give that full biographical account of the above named officers to which their merits and services so fully entitle them. With regard to Colonel Wilson, another aide-de-camp to the Liberator, we are more fortunate.

Belford Wilson was educated at Westminster and Sandhurst. When only nine years old, he gave a remarkable proof of that spirit by which he has since been constantly distinguished. His father, Sir Robert

Wilson, being imprisoned at Paris, on a charge of having assisted Count Lavalette to escape, Belford, without consulting any one, left his school, and proceeded there alone. A friend of his father's met him on the road; but, considering him fully equal to the accomplishment of his undertaking, suffered him to proceed, that he might not prevent the execution of an act so creditable to the boy's feelings. General Miller happened to be residing, at that time, in Calais, and remembers having heard this enterprise spoken of in terms of high admiration by the French. On the removal of his father from the army, young Belford declined the acceptance of a promised commission in the British service, and determined to seek his own independent fortune in South America. Provided with a letter from his father to General Bolivar, Wilson sailed in 1822 to La Guayra, and proceeded from thence to Santa Martha, and up the river Magdalena to Bogotá. There the vice-president, General Santander, offered to place him on his own staff, and proposed to give him a lucrative appointment; but the attractions of ease and income did not induce him to swerve from his original plan. He left Bogotá with an intention of proceeding to Peru, by the way of Quito, to join the Liberator; but, the Pastusos having again risen in rebellion, he was obliged to return, and proceed to Buenaventura, a port of Chocó. This province is astonishingly fertile, but subject to continual rains, and so thickly wooded that there are no paths for horses or mules. Travellers are carried in a kind of chair fastened to the shoulders of an Indian, and they, as well as goods, which are conveyed in the same manner, are weighed previous to starting, and both pay at the rate of so much per pound.

Young Wilson embarked at Buenaventura for Panamá, whence he sailed for Payta; and, continuing his route by land, he passed through Piura, Lambayeque, and arrived at Truxillo, on the coast of Peru. There he was detained for some time by Riva Aguero, then in open insurrection against the government of Lima. On his arrival in the capital of Peru, on the 19th of November, he was presented with a captain's commission by the Peruvian government. Upon joining the Liberator's head-quarters he was made aide-de-camp to his excellency, and was present at the battle of Junin.

In August, 1824, he was obliged to absent himself from the army, on account of ill health. At Huacho he took passage in the Protector frigate, and was present at some of the affairs with the Asia and other Spanish shipping in the bay of Callao. The affectionate kindness which Wilson experienced from Admiral Guise, added to good medical treatment, and quiet to which he had so long been a stranger, accelerated his recovery. He also passed some time on board The United States, an American frigate, and received from Commodore Hull the politest attention. He rejoined the Liberator at Chancay on the 12th of November.

In 1826, Wilson, who had now attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was made the bearer of the constitution which Bolivar had drawn up for the new republic of Bolivia. He performed the journey from

Lima to Chuquisaca, a distance of eighteen hundred miles, in nineteen days; and a longer journey on his return, by a different route, in the same space of time. General Sucre, with the sanction of the Bolivian congress, promoted Wilson to the rank of colonel. Conceiving that his brother officers might consider his promotion as too rapid, he refused to accept this additional rank until he was compelled to do so by the commands of the Liberator.

Wilson is a very fine promising young man. Inheriting the talents and spirit of his father, he has very popular manners. He has never allowed an occasion to escape to be of service to his countrymen, when, by employing his influence with the Liberator, he could in any way assist them. One trait completes his character. On a payment being made to the army at Lima, Wilson's share amounted to about five thousand dollars. He immediately sent the order for this sum to his father, and requested that the proceeds might be applied to Sir Robert's own use.

CHAPTER XXXII.

General Bolivar in Lima.—Congress not permitted to be installed. —Code Boliviano—adopted in Upper Peru.—Conspiracy in Lima.—Discontent.—Punishments.—The Liberator prepares to quit Peru.—Is prevailed upon to remain.—Code Boliviano approved of by the electoral colleges.—Bolivar named president for life.—He proceeds to Colombia.—Grand federation at Panama.—Revolt of the Colombian troops at Lima—Adoption of the Code Boliviano declared illegal.—Congress installed. —General La Mar elected president of the republic.—Retrospect of Chile.—Magnanimity of South Americans towards Spaniards.

To bring the affairs of Peru to a close, it is necessary to return to General Bolivar, who quitted Chuquisaca in January, 1826, to be present at Lima at the installation of the congress, which had been ordered to meet in February of that year. It was understood to be his intention to resign, to this congress, the absolute power with which His Excellency had been invested.

Several of the deputies arrived in the capital some little time before the day fixed upon for the opening of the sessions. Many of them expressed their opinions upon the propriety of the Colombian troops withdrawing from the territory of Peru, the necessity for retaining them having ceased. Some dwelt with marked emphasis on the declaration of Bolivar, upon his arrival in Peru, that, when its freedom should be achieved, he would return to his own country with the Colombian troops, without carrying away even a grain of sand. The deputies held their preparatory meeting, when they received orders from Bolivar to submit their qualifications *(poderes)* to examination by the supreme court of justice; but the deputies contended that they themselves formed the proper tribunal for such scrutiny. An altercation ensued between Dr. Unanue [*], president of the council of government, and the deputies. Bolivar, upon hearing of this refractory disposition, threatened to quit Peru. Petitions that congress might *not* be installed were got up. Their prayer was acceded to. The deputies returned to their homes, and the Liberator consented to remain.

It was about this period that Bolivar framed a constitution for the new republic of Bolivia. The general assembly of that state had dissolved itself on the 6th of October, 1825. A congress was installed at Chuquisaca on the 25th of May, 1826: Sucre was appointed to continue to exercise the executive power; and a committee of deputies was named to examine the Bolivian constitution. Upon the report of the committee, congress resolved to adopt the proposed constitution; which was done, and it was sworn to by the people. In conformity to the principles of the new constitution, a ***Presidente Vitalicio***, or president for life, was elected. The choice fell upon Sucre, who consented to accept the office for the period of only two years, and that upon condition that two thousand Colombian troops should be permitted to remain with him. To these conditions congress acceded.

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[*] Unanue is a finished scholar, but did not shine as a statesman, politician, or man of business, excepting that his flexibility always kept him amongst the rulers of the day.

With reference to Peru, General La Mar had returned from Guayaquil to Lima, and he was solicited by Bolivar to assume the presidency of the council of government; but La Mar was disabled by indisposition from undertaking the duties of that office. He went back to Guayaquil; and General Santa Cruz, who was named in his stead, arrived at Lima, from Bolivia, in June, 1826, and immediately entered upon the office to which he had been appointed.

The Liberator was no doubt exceedingly desirous that the *Code Boliviano* should be also adopted in Peru. From the highly flattering manner in which he had been received in his tour through the provinces, he had perhaps been induced to imagine, and certainly with some appearance of probability, that whatever he recommended would be implicitly acceded to. He was confirmed in this erroneous way of thinking by those around him, and by others who constantly advocated the necessity of what they called a "strong government." This opinion was sustained by some of the ablest and best informed men in office, whose personal interest induced them to mislead Bolivar on this point, in which they were seconded by others anxious for place and emolument. These gentlemen reasoned as if every cause of complaint was to be traced to demagogues and party spirit, which a strong government would, as they persisted in declaring, have been able to keep down; but they forgot that no government in Peru could be *really* strong and durable, unless supported by public opinion; and they overlooked the inapplicability of remedies which might perhaps better suit the meridian of Europe. The Peruvians, freed from the apprehension of danger from Spain, began to feel with impatience the burden of supporting expensive allies; and, although the Colombian troops observed the strictest discipline, their national manners and habits were widely different and uncongenial to those of the Peruvians. The *Code Boliviano* was therefore unpopular with the majority; and the very efforts made to prepare the minds of the Peruvians to accept the constitution increased their aversion to it. For a long time before this, an anti-Colombian spirit had existed: this spirit now led to the formation of a strong party. To distaste succeeded avowed disgust, and open discontent. A conspiracy was discovered, having, it was said, for its object the assassination of General Bolivar, and the expulsion of the Colombians. Although many affirmed that it was limited to a few subalterns, and others that it was altogether imaginary, strong measures were taken. A supreme tribunal was formed to meet the exigency, and its members, the learned *Doctores* Estenós, Pancorvo, and Freyre, rivalled the zeal displayed by Rivadeneyra, who had been president of a permanent court martial. Lieutenant Aristizabal, a Peruvian, was condemned to be shot. His last exclamations were, that he died to serve his country. A guerrilla chief, named Ninavilca, and several others, who had all fled, were condemned *par contumace* to be strangled, in contravention of the decree, passed on the 3rd of

January, 1822, by which that mode of punishment was abolished. Colonel Vidal, whose courage, activity, and military talents have been often and honourably mentioned, and whose excellent private character, for probity and the purest patriotism, have always been thrown too much into the shade by his natural diffidence, escaped to the interior; but he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to ten years' exile. Others were condemned, in like manner, to similar punishments*. Admiral Guise was tried, but acquitted. The following is given as a specimen of the curious decisions of this curious tribunal:

"Nothing having appeared upon this trial against Colonels Tur and Saroa, they are to be set at liberty; but let it be notified to them, that they *must quit the country within fifteen days.*"

Every Buenos Ayrean, and every Chileno resident in Peru, was ordered by the council of government to present himself in the capital. Generals Necochea and Correa, Colonels Estomba and Raulet, and many highly respectable merchants, amongst whom was Don Juan José Sarratea, known for his patriotism from the very commencement of the Buenos Ayrean revolution, were ordered to quit the country. Necochea indignantly sent in his commission, as a general of Peru, and some bills which had been given to him in payment of a grant, in reward for past services, declaring that he would carry *nothing from Peru but his wounds.* The council of government coolly received the resignation and the bills, but had not the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of General Necochea's letter enclosing them.

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* Most of these sentences were afterwards revised, or mitigated.

The desultory nature of this work will admit, in this place, of some further particulars of Colonel Raulet, who is a lively gallant Frenchman, about thirty-six years of age. He had served in the Peninsula, where his adventures rendered him as familiar with Spanish prisons as even Gil Blas had been. He belonged to the garrison of Badajoz, when that fortress was besieged by Lord Wellington; and it is a singular coincidence, that he was one of a party that made a sortie, which, galloping near the engineer depôt, fired a pistol-ball through a tent that Miller then occupied. Raulet was taken at the storming of the place, and sent first on board a prison-ship at Chatham, and then to a depôt in Scotland. He fought under Marshal Ney, at the battle of Waterloo, and was severely wounded. Being a flaming Bonapartist, he found it advisable to quit France, and he embarked for Pernambuco, where he arrived at the breaking out of a revolution. He joined the democratic party; and, being again made prisoner, was conveyed from jail to jail, along the Brazilian coast, for six months, until he arrived at Rio Janeiro, where he was set at liberty. He then embarked for Buenos Ayres, and joined a division of the army of the Andes, with which he marched to Chile, and accompanied the liberating expedition from Valparaiso. During the campaigns in Peru, he was mostly employed at the advance posts, and was always foremost in daring enterprise. On one occasion he was sent from Lima to Xauxa with a flag of truce; but even here his unlucky stars prevailed; for on his return, having outrode his trumpeter and escort, he met some montoneros of Reyes, who, conceiving that he was a royalist officer, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, made him prisoner. They tied his hands, and compelled him to proceed on foot to Carhuamayo, where he was lodged in a damp and miserable hovel. Disliking the atmosphere of his new prison, Raulet lost his temper, and abused his gaolers in language which excited their ire. By way of pacifying him, they took him out of the hut, and flogged him unmercifully. On the following day he was conducted to Pasco, where he was immediately recognised by the governor; and it was only upon the intercession of Raulet, that he abstained from severely punishing the montoneros.

In the course of the war, the susceptible heart of Raulet was bestowed on a fair Peruvian, to whom he long knelt in vain. His courtship furnishes ample materials for a romance,—the idol of his affections being a royalist, and previously engaged to a highly respectable and wealthy Spanish gentleman, who had been obliged to leave Lima, and who is now residing in London. But as the war prevented the first and more favoured lover's return, the ardour of Raulet was at length crowned with success; and he is now a rich *hacendado*, living on his wife's estate near Ica, the doting husband of his lovely Doña Nicolasita, and the happy father of Napoleon Raulet, and five or six other smiling cherubs *.

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* The disposition of Raulet constantly impelled him to mingle in political squabbles. Falling under the displeasure of Bolivar, he was banished from Peru in the beginning of the year 1824. Returning without permission from Chile to Ica, the governor of that place, Colonel Estomba, was ordered to have him shot. But Estomba declined to be the executioner of his

The affairs of Peru were again enveloped in gloom; and persons of property, and friends to tranquillity, became exceedingly apprehensive of the return of anarchy. These alarms were considerably augmented, amongst a numerous class, by the announcement of Bolivar's second determination to quit the country. He had fixed upon the 13th of August for the day of his departure. The most frightful tumults were foreboded, and it was said that government would be reduced to a chaos. The public mind continued in a state of fearful excitement from the morning of the 13th until the evening of the 16th. The advocates for the formation of a *strong government* used every argument in their power to induce His Excellency to alter his professed determination, and employed all their influence to prevail upon the people to second their wishes.

The following account, divested of the greater part of its original, and almost ludicrous, orientalism, is taken from a Lima ministerial newspaper of the day.

On the morning of the 13th, the inhabitants of the suburb of San Lazaro, on the right bank of the

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friend; and, in consequence, both were summoned to head-quarters at Chancay, where, upon their arrival, they were thrown into prison. The news of the victory of Ayacucho arriving soon after, the Dictator relented, and the delinquents were set at liberty. Raulet was a second time banished to Chile, where he took an active part in suppressing a revolt against the Supreme Director, Freyre, and was wounded. In this affair he was opposed to that equally unquiet spirit, our old friend, La Tapia. Raulet is now the gayest of the gay, and has, we believe, risen to the municipal dignity of alcalde. He walks in processions, with his tasselled and gold-headed cane of office, with as much magisterial grace as any of his brother aldermen. It is remarked, that he is particularly kind towards *all prisoners and captives* within his jurisdiction. Raulet is a most cheerful and delightful companion, and is much beloved and esteemed. Miller has lately had the satisfaction of visiting a part of his family, as he passed through Namur.

Rimac, went in procession, attended by bands of music, and colours flying, to the great square in front of the palace. On Bolivar's appearing at one of the balconies, the air resounded with acclamations. When silence was obtained, the venerable *cura* of San Lazaro addressed the Liberator, who, on signifying that he persisted in his determination to leave the country, was told that, in quitting it, he must trample on the breasts of the very people of whose lives he had been the preserver.

The members of the municipality next presented themselves at the palace, and implored the Liberator to desist from his design of absenting himself from the land of the Incas. Bolivar answered, that his remaining there was impossible, upon which the municipality laid the insignia of their office at his feet, saying they could not, under these circumstances, reconcile it to their consciences to continue the exercise of their authority.

Deputations from every section of Lima successively presented themselves, and protested that they would form an impenetrable wall against the execution of his designs to leave Peru. But Bolivar, immovable as the rock, refused to give even hope, until, oppressed by the repeated solicitations of a people anticipating the heaviest misfortunes from his departure, he promised to give an irrevocable answer within eight days.

Petitions to the same effect, from all classes of society and bodies corporate, continued to pour in. Repeated interviews were obtained, and representations from the provinces were received. On the 15th, the tribunals and corporations repaired in form to the cathedral, and this gave another opportunity to reiterate their prayers to the Liberator, who replied, "If I hearkened only to the wishes of my heart, I should remain with the Peruvians, who have won my affection by their pure demonstrations of gratitude. But my country calls me; and, when duty speaks, it behoves me to obey in silence, without listening to the seducing appeal of the affections. While I have been absent from Colombia, dissensions have arisen which I alone can calm. If Colombia remain divided, the army, which is the guarantee of union, the shield of liberty, and the model of military discipline, will become as prejudicial to its country as heretofore it has been great and terrible to the enemies of America. Peru abounds in eminent men, who are able to conduct the vessel of the state with skill and wisdom. If at any time danger should arise, I will fly to succour this great people, whom I love for the magnanimity they have displayed towards me, and for their effusions of gratitude."

The army also signified its wishes for the Liberator to remain, in a grandiloquent address, signed by Juan Salazar, Domingo Tristan, Rafael Jimena, José Rivadeneyra, Ignacio del Alcazar, Luis Morales, M. Negreiros, Martin Herrero, José Mercedes Castañeda, Andres Negron, Joaquin Barela, José Gregorio, Escobedo, and a few others.

On the part of the church, Dr. Don Carlos Pedemonte asserted, in a florid oration, that Peru would cease to exist if he, who was the dominator of Fortune herself, should withdraw from her territory.

The peasantry from the adjacent villages trod the floors of the palace for the first time, to add their prayers to those of other classes.

The matrons of the capital assembled in the consistorial saloons, and passed on to the palace to join their supplications to those of the stronger sex, hoping that, with the assistance of the Graces, they would be enabled to soften the hitherto inflexible determination of the Liberator. To these fair petitioners the Liberator gave the following rely: "Ladies! silence is the only answer I ought to give to those enchanting expressions, which bind not only the heart but duty. When beauty speaks, what breast can resist it? I have been the soldier of beauty, because Liberty is bewitchingly beautiful; she diffuses happiness, and decorates the path of life with flowers." At the conclusion of this speech, of which the above is only an extract, the ladies crowded round Bolivar, and, after a long and animated discussion, "an angel voice" was heard to pronounce these words, "The Liberator remains!"

Loud *vivas* and acclamations were the answer. The church bells were kept ringing all night. Joy took possession of every heart, and a grand ball concluded the scene, in which the matrons performed so conspicuous a part.

On the following morning, the electoral college of the province and that of the city of Lima resolved that the Bolivian constitution should be adopted in Peru, and that Bolivar should be named *presidente vitalicio.* To an address of the electoral colleges, Bolivar replied: "It is with the highest satisfaction I learn that the electoral colleges have adopted the constitution which I gave to the republic that bears my name. The council of government, anxious to assure the happiness of the country, consulted me; and I agreed to offer it to the Peruvian people. This constitution is the work of ages. To form it I have consulted every ancient and modern authority. It combines the lessons of experience with the counsels and opinions of the wise. I congratulate the representatives of this province upon its adoption." The other provincial electoral colleges, with the exception of that of Tarapacá, declared also for the adoption of the *Code Boliviano.*

Bolivar (now *presidente vitalicio* elect of Peru), having received despatches from Bogotá, informing him that General Paez had refused to obey the orders of the executive government, of which General Santander was president during the Liberator's absence, determined to return immediately to Colombia, in order to arrange those unhappy differences. A farewell entertainment was given on the 2d of September. Early on the morning of the 3d, Bolivar left Lima, not very numerously attended, for Callao, where he embarked, and sailed for Guayaquil. In a proclamation issued on his departure, Bolivar says, "Peruvians, your prosperous or evil fortunes shall be mine. Our fate shall be one and the same." *Vuestros bienes, y vuestros males serán los mios. Una nuestra suerte.*

His excellency left General Santa Cruz president of the council of government, Don José Maria Pando minister of state for the interior, Don José Larrea y Loredo for finance, and Don Tomas Héres minister of war. General Lara remained in command of the

Colombian troops in Peru, amounting to about four thousand men.

Bolivar arrived at Guayaquil on the 13th of September. A fortnight previous to this, that department, headed by the prefect Mosquera, had declared for the Bolivian constitution, and for Bolivar as *presidente vitalicio*. The department of Quito followed the example nine days afterwards. These measures received no public mark of disapprobation from Bolivar; but they were declared by General Santander to be rebellious and contrary to the Colombian constitution, which all had sworn to preserve inviolate until the year 1834.

Bolivar entered Bogotá on the 14th of November, 1826. From thence he set out for Caracas, and having adjusted the differences between General Paez and the executive government, his excellency endeavoured to introduce the Bolivian code into Colombia, "that it might," to use the words of its advocates, "extend from Potosi to the Orinoco." The grand confederation of Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia, under one supreme president, was spoken of as an event close at hand: but the *Code Boliviano* was as unpopular in Colombia as in Peru, and the attempt to introduce it has been unsuccessful. The democratic party considered that the Presidente Vitalicio was in effect an elective monarch, with the additional power of nominating his successor; a principle diametrically opposite to that, which Bolivar professed to act upon throughout the struggle for independence.

The idea of a grand American congress was this year carried into effect at Panama. The plan of it was to strengthen the union between the recently formed states; to combine their forces against any attack; to prevent or decide upon any political differences which might arise amongst themselves; and to keep a watchful eye upon the policy of Europe. This magnificent plan, as it was called, was advocated by Monteagudo; and Bolivar was to have been the protector of the confederation. He invited the different governments to send representatives to Panama. Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Mexico, and Guatemala, each sent two. Buenos Ayres and Chile did not send any.

Results of no common magnitude and influence were expected from this august assembly. The deputies appeared to consider that they held in their hands the destinies of America; but their labours ended in a few preparatory proclamations of "learned length." They seem to have entirely overlooked the obvious fact, that the interests, habits, and genius of the new states are as various, and sometimes as directly opposed, as those of rival nations in Europe. If one or more of the new states coalesced against threatened danger, it would be in consequence of identity of interests. No treaty of general alliance that this abortive congress could have drawn up would have produced any other effect than, perhaps, an unbounded admiration of a wondrously beautiful piece of writing.

The council of government at Lima decreed, on the 30th of November, that the oath of fidelity to the Bolivian constitution should be solemnly taken on the 9th of December following; the anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho. This decree, though received with expressions of applause and satisfaction by the authorities, produced evident symptoms of disgust in the majority of the inhabitants. The decree was nevertheless enforced by the influence of those in office, and the oath was taken with the usual formalities, by the council of government, and throughout the provinces.

But the genuine expression of popular feeling could not long be smothered by the efforts of governors who sunk in public opinion in proportion to their zeal in advocating the new-fangled *vitalicio* system. Swearing to the constitution in the province, was a counterpart, and a continuation of the farce got up in Lima, a little previous to the departure of Bolivar, upon which occasion the performers were rewarded in proportion to their importance and utility. For instance, the active *cura* of San Lazaro was promoted to the rank and revenue of a canon in the cathedral church. Dr. Don Carlos Pedemonte was elevated to the archiepiscopal chair, by the council of government, which, upon this occasion, assumed the power of the holy see. How the matrons were rewarded does not appear upon record. With the exception of the praise uttered by those immediately dependent upon the smiles of the Liberator, it may be confidently asserted that not one grain of sincerity was mingled with the flatteries which saluted the ear of his excellency at that truly histrionic exhibition. Amongst other servilities, a person high in office knelt down and requested Bolivar to place his foot upon his neck, that he might be enabled to boast that he had supported the greatest man of the age. That a slavish mind could have chosen this mode of fawning is not surprising, but that Bolivar should have heard the proposal with complacency is incredible. Not so astonishing is the present conduct of the syphocant, for he is now a bitter enemy to the Liberator. This is the natural reaction of base and abject flattery.

The Bolivian code was scarcely less disliked by the Colombian troops in Peru than by the Peruvians. No sooner was Bolivar gone than the latter began to work upon this feeling, in order to get rid of the system and the Colombians altogether. A young Colombian, Colonel Bustamante, having brought over some subaltern officers, they assembled their serjeants, and represented to them that the constitution of Colombia was in part subverted by the precipitate acts of Quito and Guayaquil, and further endangered by those acts having passed not only unpunished, but uncensured, excepting by the Vice-President Santander, whom they said it was necessary to support. The serjeants were further informed that it was designed by Lara to employ the troops to destroy constitutional liberty. This mode of reasoning was strengthened by the hope held out that, in case they would assist in removing the enemies to freedom, their arrears of pay would be immediately forthcoming. A sufficient number having been gained over, Bustamante, on the night of the 26th January, 1827, repaired to the quarters of Generals Lara and Sands, whom he arrested in their beds, together with such other Colombian chiefs as they considered inimical to their plans. The Peruvian government had received information of what was going on, and had apprized Lara of the circumstances nine days before the conspiracy was carried into execution. The general not only discredited the report, but was offended at the bare suspicion. Santa Cruz, the president, happened to be out of Lima. The other members of the council told Bustamante that upon him alone rested all responsibility. He took this upon himself very willingly; chartered a vessel (the Blucher); and immediately shipped off the arrested officers for Guayaquil.

The ministers Don José Maria Pando, Don José Larrea y Loredo, and Don Tomas Heres, resigned. The last, being exceedingly unpopular, escaped on board a French vessel, and sailed for the same port. A new ministry was formed. Dr. Vidaurre, Don José Morales, and Don Juan Salazar, succeeded the three gentlemen who had retired, and Santa Cruz continued at the head of affairs. The ministerial newspaper spoke of Bolivar with respect, but applauded the resolution of the new administration to prevent *foreign* interference in Peruvian affairs.

The government now felt desirous that the Colombian troops should quit Peru altogether. The principal difficulty in effecting this arose from want of money, as it was necessary to pay them all arrears before they could be embarked. After infinite exertions, two hundred thousand dollars were scraped together. Three-fourths were distributed amongst the troops, and the remainder employed to defray the expenses of conveying them by sea to

Guayaquil, to which place they all sailed with Colonel Bustamante, in March, 1827. It was supposed that Bustamante's intention was to annex Guayaquil to Peru. The Colombians were unpopular there, and, as far as the inclinations of the people were concerned, they were decidedly in favour of this measure. But the real interests of Guayaquil are indicated by its geographical position. So long as Quito, and the adjacent provinces, containing altogether a population of eight hundred thousand souls, shall form part of the Colombian territory, Guayaquil would be their general entrepôt. Belonging to Peru, it would dwindle down into the naval station of a country possessing only a few ships; and in this case rival ports would be established on the coast of Quito, or Chocó: and therefore so long as Quito forms a part of the Colombian union, Guayaquil ought to be a Colombian port.

After the revolt of the 26th of January, the people throughout Peru declared, almost unanimously, that the Bolivian code had been forced upon them, and that the election of Bolivar as president for life, as well as the adoption of the code, was illegal, inasmuch as the electoral colleges had not powers to decide upon questions of that nature; it being the province of a general congress alone, to determine upon the form of government by which the country should be ruled.

Orders were issued for the election of deputies for a new congress, which assembled at Lima on the 4th of June. General La Mar was elected president of the republic, and Don Manuel Salazar y

Baquijano vice-president. The latter acted as president until the arrival of La Mar from Guayaquil in August.

La Mar, a native of Guayaquil, was educated in Spain. In 1793, he served, with credit, as a lieutenant of the Sabaya regiment, in the campaign of Roussillon. In 1808, he (as Major La Mar) was one of the heroic defenders of Saragossa, where he was wounded. He afterwards commanded a grenadier column in the province of Valencia, where he acquired great credit with the army, and popularity with the inhabitants. When in hospital at Tudela, in consequence of severe wounds, he was included in the capitulation of General Blake's army, and was conveyed to France. He always refused to give his parole, but it was not until 1813 that he eluded the vigilance of his guard at Beaune, and escaped to Madrid. In 1814, he was advanced to the rank of brigadier, and in 1816 set out for Lima, with the appointment of inspector-general of the army in Peru. After capitulating at Callao, he sent in his resignation to the viceroy. His subsequent services in the cause of his native country have been detailed. President La Mar is a man of cultivated mind, of mild, persuasive, and refined manners; he is much beloved, and highly respected; and has no personal and very few political enemies. Perhaps the only defect in his political character is the trait of occasional indecision. He is fifty years of age; and his person and countenance are good. He has lately had the misfortune to lose a most amiable wife, a sister to

His Excellency Señor Don Vicente Rocafuerte *, the Mexican envoy at the court of London.

The presidency of La Mar has been chequered by events less favourable than might have been expected. Peru and Colombia have risen in arms against each other. An encroaching spirit of ambition on the one side, and a forgetfulness of services rendered on the other, have produced hostilities, in the prosecution of which neither country can by possibility gain any thing, not even barren honour.

Gratitude is a burden which sits as uneasily upon nations as upon individuals, and seems to be still more readily thrown aside. During the course of the revolutions, every section of South America has been aided, directly or indirectly, by one or more of its neighbours; but not one of them seems anxious to perpetuate the remembrance of such assistance. Chile, in celebrating her own efforts, dwells not upon the circumstance of the battle of Chacabuco having been gained by Argentine bayonets. Colombia carefully abstains from acknowledging the timely assistance she received from Peru in the signal triumph of Pinchincha; while Peru, in turn, affects to forget the still more extensive succours furnished by Colombia on the fields of Junin and Ayacucho. Thus it is with all nations. The Spaniards boast of having expelled the French from the Peninsula, without

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* This highly-respected gentleman has conducted the affairs of his government in a manner which reflects great credit upon his diplomatic talents, while his probity in delicate and difficult loan transactions is not only unsuspected by those most intimately versed in the complicated details, but is placed beyond the shadow of a doubt in the minds of those at all familiar with those scourges of Spanish America. This minister lives in the unostentatious style of a republican; but his amiable manners, and well informed mind, render him an ornament of the best society in London and Paris, where he is well known and equally esteemed.

noticing the British army as partners in their glory. Russia ascribes to her own omnipotence the overthrow of Napoleon at Moscow; but is silent as to the British subsidies which enabled a million of men in arms to act against the veteran remnant of that host which had been defeated by the elements. The Prussian gazettes, after the battle of Waterloo, speak as little of the Duke of Wellington as of the Island of Santa Helena; while a reader of Belgian accounts would hardly suppose the English had participated in an event which hurled the great and mighty emperor from his throne, and chained him to an Atlantic rock.

There is, however, something to be adduced in palliation of the conduct of Peru. Until the hero who had liberated Venezuela, New Granada, and Quito, fell into the weakness of declining the additional glory of quitting liberated Peru without carrying away, as he had promised, "even a grain of sand," the Peruvians overwhelmed him with demonstrations of gratitude, poured out treasures at his feet, and addressed him in language unsuitable to any being below the Deity; but when it was evident that the Colombians were about to act the same part which the Saxons once acted in England, discordant feelings were excited, animosities arose, a thousand irritating insults were offered on both sides, which, in the end, produced violent and mutual hatred.

Bolivar thought that he could govern the Peruvians better than they could govern themselves, but they did not concur in this opinion; at any rate, they were determined to try the experiment. The presence of a Colombian army restrained, for a while, the genuine expression of Peruvian feeling. The influence of its chief attracted around him men possessing talents above mediocrity, all equally forward in worshipping the rising sun, but who turned and stung their benefactor the moment he had passed the zenith of his power. Bolivar was completely deceived as to the true state of public feeling, by the misrepresentations of interested sycophants, possessing or aspiring to office, and, though republicans, ambitious even of titles.

Bolivar was not personally popular, and the continued presence of his troops gave rise to jealousies and suspicions which led to unmixed abhorrence; but it was not until some time after Bolivar had left the country, that the eruption of the political volcano burst forth, and Colombian influence was terminated by the conspiracy of Bustamante. The Bolivian constitution was disdainfully flung aside; Peru became free to choose her own president, and La Mar was elevated to that office. The nomination of a person of his high character gave universal satisfaction, and it was hailed by all as a peculiarly auspicious event. La Mar's obvious policy was to reduce the standing army; to keep up a small squadron in the most efficient state; to provide liberally for the retired veteran officers and soldiers; to reorganize the custom-house; and to fix public credit upon a firm foundation, by providing for the gradual liquidation of public debt, and by preventing the recurrence of pernicious loans. An honest and economical expenditure would enable Peru to put forth, whenever called for, her vast defensive capabilities, and to set an invading force at defiance. Unfortunately, La Mar, led away by his wishes to conciliate all parties, has lent too ready an ear to the noisy declamations of learned orators, who, though especially careful of their own persons when an enemy is close at hand, are the foremost to excite others to a show of hostility when danger is far distant. He also patronised many military officers whom it would have been more politic to have discharged on handsome retired allowances. Instead of reducing the standing army to below 2000 men, La Mar unwisely augmented it to 12,000, a number which absorbs the revenue, and prevents its being applied to useful purposes. This has opened the door to oppression and extortion of all kinds. The soldiery are ill paid; the people murmur; and it is much to be feared that La Mar will be obliged to retire without conferring on the Peruvians those benefits which they had a right to expect from his talents and his virtues.

With regard to the menaces of Colombia, the Peruvians might have remained perfectly at ease. Instead of being alarmed by the false expectation of an immediate invasion, they ought to have considered that Bolivar had too much to attend to in his own country, to be able to carry his threats into execution. Harassed by internal division and continual conspiracies, the Liberator could not place himself at the head of an invading army, on the Peruvian frontier, without exposing Colombia to revolt and anarchy; or even had a large force invaded Peru from the side of Quito, the desert of Sechura, fifty leagues in length, would alone have been sufficient to diminish their numbers so much, as to be equivalent to the loss of a battle. The farther the hostile remnant advanced, the more certain would be its destruction. A few hundred montoneros, properly directed, would be sufficient to cut off all supplies; for the hatred of the Peruvians to the Colombians is as great, and perhaps more unanimous, than that which they once entertained for the Spaniards. As Peru has a very decided naval superiority over Colombia in the Pacific, the sea would be altogether unavailable to the latter, while the former would possess every means of transporting her detachments wherever circumstances might require. Colombia labours under the additional disadvantage of placing in jeopardy the adhesion of Quito and Guayaquil. The manners, customs, and inclinations of the inhabitants of these provinces are more analogous to those of Peru; and though, perhaps, many may not feel warmly disposed towards a junction with that country, yet they are nevertheless decidedly anti-Colombian. On the other hand, this war may, for a time, have the effect of giving additional stability to Bolivar's power in Colombia; as, in consequence of the extreme violence of the Peruvian declarations, and the abuse which they have heaped upon the Colombians, the war has become very popular with the latter. Their attention is, therefore, withdrawn from their internal government, and their energy is directed to the prosecution of the new contest; but this does not in any way affect the question as to the ultimate secession of Guayaquil and Quito. Whether the Peruvians had declared war or not, it is in the nature of things to expect that these provinces will eventually separate from Colombia. The province of Pasto, which is to the north of Quito, is occupied by a race of Indians, who, brave, warlike, and untameable as the Araucaunians, have always been inimical to the government of Bogotá, to which they have been a constant source of disquietude; and would, in case of the defection of Quito, become a formidable barrier against the Colombians. The river Guanambu appears to be the natural boundary of Colombia on the south.

Although the government of Bolivia has undergone a violent change, the condition of the people in that republic has been certainly ameliorated. The just views and indefatigable zeal of General Sucre have not been adequate to the preservation of the Bolivian constitution, nor does it appear that the Upper Peruvians have substituted any less objectionable form of government. The code which the Liberator sent forth, as the idol of his political dreams, has hitherto found no congenial soil, and wherever planted it has withered before taking root. It is to be regretted, that Bolivar, who has acquired so much glory, and whose mind is endowed with so much perseverance, decision, and intelligence, should be wanting in qualities calculated to produce unanimity amongst the several people liberated by his exertions and genius. It appears that his talents are better fitted to shine in adversity than to give consistency to the advantages resulting from his successes. But he ought not to be deprived of the glory which fairly belongs to him. The South

Americans should recollect the immense services he has rendered; whilst the rest of the world should consider, how natural and how common it is for human vanity to be misled, after a man has raised himself to so towering an elevation. Few have received so copious a share of adulation, and it would have been almost miraculous had Bolivar been altother proof against it. Those who are most prone to censure him would probably have grown dizzy long before they had attained to such an eminence.

No sooner had the Bolivians began to experience the benefits of emancipation, than a strong party, hostile to Colombian influence, arose. Their pride was mortified by the presence of foreign troops, and they determined to disencumber themselves of what they began to consider their new masters. With this view, some of them addressed the constituted authorities in Peru, inviting the latter to assist them in shaking off the Colombian yoke. Although Sucre had been chosen President of Bolivia by the spontaneous voice of the people, legitimately expressed by congress, and although his proposal to retain two thousand Colombian troops for two years was also assented to by that same congress, still many circumstances arose which induced a desire, on the part of the Bolivians, to accelerate the departure of their liberators. The violent expulsion of the Colombians was a measure which the Bolivians might have undertaken at their own risk, but in which the government of Lima had no more right to interfere, than Austria had with the internal concerns of Naples, France with those of Spain, or England with those of Portugal at the present moment. The unwise measure of sending a force, under Gamarra, to assist the malcontents of Bolivia, reflects disgrace upon the government of Lima, and will doubtless produce some very embarrassing reactions. Even if this expedition did accelerate the downfall of Sucre, it is certain that for a time it placed the cause it intended to support in jeopardy; for many of the Bolivians, upon hearing the advance of the Peruvian troops under Gamarra, began to fear that they were only about to change masters, and that the one they already had might possibly be better than a new one: besides which, the address to the government at Lima had emanated from a comparatively small party of the Bolivians, most of whom had some personal motives for their dislike to the Colombians.

Sucre made a gallant defence, and even after receiving a dangerous wound in the arm, he persevered with redoubled energy. In contending for his rights, he ceded his ground by inches, until, abandoned and overpowered, he capitulated, and embarked for his own country. Thus fell the conqueror of Ayacucho; but his descent from power, though forming a curious commentary on his title of *Presidente Vitalicio*, was marked by a dignity of conduct worthy of his elevated character. The following letter, which he wrote on quitting the shores of Peru, is creditable to the feelings and moderation of General Sucre:

"On board the ship Porcupine, under sail off Callao,
the 10th of September, 1828.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—The negotiators of the Bolivian government offered, on my part, to the general commanding the Peruvian army, that, on my voyage to Guayaquil, I should touch here for the purpose of tendering my good offices with respect to a settlement of the differences between the Peruvian and Colombian governments. Although events in that country have so much changed, that I might consider myself as exonerated from this promise, I have thought it expedient to fulfil the same, opposing to personal rancour an act of generosity; and, fulfilling my word, I have declined the opportunities which I had at Cobija and Arica, to proceed directly to Guayaquil.

"Being ignorant of the present state of affairs between Colombia and Peru, I cannot say whether this step of mine will be of any avail, or whether it will be well or ill thought of. Situated as I am, I only wish to manifest my anxious and particular wishes for peace between the people of America, being convinced that war ever entails public calamities, especially in our devastated country.

"I am destitute of any knowledge as to the existing relations between Colombia and Peru, and I am ignorant if the interests or honour of either of the two people render the war unavoidable. Without examining the rights and duties that may exist for bringing it to a head, as I have been accused of being one of the causes or agents of the rupture, I must, out of respect for my reputation, individually refute this calumny, and add to my present step the conduct which I have pursued towards Peru since the year 1827, which sufficiently proves my anxiety that peace should not be interrupted.

" If the Peruvian government accepts my offers for reconciliation with Colombia, I shall with pleasure receive any commission for preserving the tranquillity of that republic; and instructions to that effect may be sent on board to me, which I promise honourably to comply with. But if, on the contrary, my offer should prove unwelcome, as being too late, and because the honour and interest of one of these nations require that war should immediately commence, I shall likewise have defeated this calumny, and exculpated myself before all America from any responsibility of the evils which either of them may suffer; and show that my proceedings are not guided by personal resentment and revenge, which I wholly and heartily renounce whenever the public good is in question, and which, however just they may be, I always postpone to the happiness of the people to whom I have ever devoted my services. God grant that I may not be revenged by events, and the struggle of pretensions between the very persons that have offended me, in order that the people may not fall the victims.

" Having determined not to go on shore, and to receive on board your Excellency's answer, I beg to have it speedily; for, although willing to make every sacrifice for the public welfare, my health requires my speedy arrival at Quito, to complete my cure. Therefore, if the Peruvian government should deem my pacific overtures useless or troublesome, it will condescend, by way of reciprocity of my good faith and sincerity, to grant me a small vessel, to carry me, at my own expense, to Guayaquil, and proceed on her voyage this very day, if possible. God preserve your Excellency.

"The Aide-de-Camp,
"Jose Ecclesiastico Andrade.
"For His Excellency the Marshal of Ayacucho."

The future vicissitudes of the Bolivian and other South American governments are questions of minor importance, provided the people become progressively more wealthy, more enlightened, more free, and consequently more happy.

In taking leave of Peru, it is satisfactory to observe, that, since the termination of the war of independence, the march of improvement has been uninterrupted, and proceeds with accelerated pace. The greater part of those who obsequiously fawned to power, and changed their principles whenever apostacy led to the possession of rank and riches, or the hope of either, now court retirement from the public gaze. Their treacheries and intrigues are beginning to be well known. The future historian may perhaps consign a few contemptible names to infamy. For the present, the remorse arising from their own feelings is a sufficient punishment. The cultivation of the mind is assiduously attended to. Besides several youths now in England for education, at the expense of the Peruvian government, many of the principal families of Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, &c., send their sons to England, France, or North America. Schools are formed for the instruction of children of the humbler classes. One upon the Lancasterian system was established in Lima by Mr.

Thompson, and is now conducted by Don José Morales, a young Peruvian, regularly instructed in London with that view. It is patronised by the government, and the ministers occasionally attend the examinations. At the beginning of 1828, above three hundred scholars had been placed by their parents on this establishment. Books are eagerly sought after; and it is fortunate that the correct judgment and enterprising spirit of Mr. Ackermann have induced him to cause to be translated, for the Spanish American market, practical works, which are likely to be generally useful. Agricultural property increases in value, and notwithstanding the quarrel with Colombia, the general prospect affords just grounds to hope, that the blood which has drenched the soil of South America has not been shed in vain.

The affairs of Chile, which occupied a prominent share of our earlier pages, now demand a retrospective glance.

Towards the end of the year 1818, the Supreme Director, General O'Higgins, named the members of a committee to draw up a provisional constitution, which was done, and sworn to, within a few days of its promulgation. But as this provisional constitution was merely a string of ill-assorted regulations, it fell very far short of satisfying the just expectations of the people. A senate, composed of five individuals, was named by the Director. Its powers were so undefined, and its influence so equivocal, that it tended rather to strengthen and support the directorial powers, than to act as a counterbalance to them.

In 1822, O'Higgins convoked a preparatory convention, to determine the basis of a constituent congress. The members of the convention were elected by the municipalities; but under such direct and discreditable interference on the part of the government, as to excite general detestation. This was increased by the convention arrogating to itself the attributes of a general constituent congress, and by the minister of finance, Don José Antonio Rodrigues Aldea, endeavouring to intimidate those who opposed this unconstitutional assumption of power.

The Chilenos, enraged at perceiving a really absolute government supported in its arbitrary measures by what ought to have been a constitutional check, had recourse to the only means left to them. A general rising of the people of the provinces was followed by a rising of the inhabitants of the capital, in January, 1823. The minister, Rodrigues, who had continued attached to the royalist cause until a late period, hated for his tyrannical proceedings, and shameful peculation in office, was driven from power. Unfortunately, this man was a favourite with General O'Higgins, who was, in consequence, compelled to give way to public opinion, by resigning the supreme directorship, and by retiring to Peru. With the exception of a tour made in accompanying the head-quarters of Bolivar in 1824, O'Higgins has employed himself in the cultivation of a very fine estate, presented to him by the Peruvian government in the time of the protectorate. Thus ended the public career of one of the most illustrious men of the Spanish American revolution. His valour, integrity, patriotism, disinterestedness, and his capacity, are alike deserving of the highest applause; and his errors in judgment are forgotten in the recollections of the goodness of his heart.

On the resignation of O'Higgins, a congress was convened, and General Freyre was elected director of the republic. He has not the reputation of being a profound statesman; but he is a brave soldier, and one of the first acts of his directorship was to attack the island of Chiloe. An expedition, consisting of three or four thousand men, sailed from Talcahuano. The place of disembarkation was not chosen with judgment. There was a want of boldness in the plan, and for that reason it failed.

A second expedition of nearly four thousand men, under the same general, rendezvoused at Valdivia, and sailed on the 2d January, 1826, convoyed by the undermentioned ships of war:

O'Higgins,	Admiral	Blanco.
	Captain	Foster.
Lautaro,	—	Bell.
Independencia,	—	Cobbett*.
Galvarino,	—	Winter.
Chacabuco,	—	Postigo.
Aquiles,	—	Worster.

A landing was effected on the 8th, at the little inlet of the bay of Huechucucay, and Fort Corona was immediately taken. On the 10th the disembarkation of the troops was completed. A battalion was left to mask Fort Aguy, whilst a force under Colonel Aldunate passed on, and took the battery of Balcacura. On the 11th Admiral Blanco shifted his flag, and, leaving the O'Higgins outside, stood into the bay with the rest of the squadron, which anchored off Balcacura. In capturing a gun-boat, Lieutenant Oxley, of the Galvarino, was killed.

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* This officer, who served with enthusiasm and distinction in the cause of independence, was unfortunately lost, with all his crew, in the frigate O'Higgins, which he then commanded, and which is supposed to have foundered off Cape Horn, on her way from Valparaiso to the river Plata, in 1826.

The governor, Quintanilla, with upwards of three thousand royalists, took up a strong position on a hill (on the south-east side of the bay), flanked on the left by an impenetrable wood, and on the right by the shore, and supported by three gun-boats in shallow water. These were taken by the boats of the squadron under Captain Bell, and turned against the royalists. Their position was thus enfiladed, and they retired. Freyre then advanced: some skirmishing took place; Quintanilla capitulated; and the territory of Chile was no longer sullied by the Spanish flag.

Colonel Aldunate, Majors Maruri *, Asagra *, and Tupper (a native of Jersey), and Captain Bell, of the navy, greatly distinguished themselves.

Some time after this important capture, Freyre resigned the office of supreme director. Admiral Blanco succeeded him, but soon retired from that post, which is now occupied by General Pinto, a man of liberal sentiments, and of cultivated mind. The government is neither strong, nor possessed of a superabundant reve-

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* These officers were conspicuous for their gallantry and excellent conduct at Mirabe, and other affairs in the Puertos Intermedios.

nue. Acts of tyranny and local oppression have, however, disappeared; and Chile may be said to enjoy a degree of liberty until now unknown in that part of the world. With regard to the country at large, the improvement is more striking and decisive. Landed property has more than doubled in value. Santiago, Valparaiso, and some of the larger provincial towns, have made great advances in refinement, but it is to be hoped that the introduction of the boasted civilization of Europe will not drive away hospitality and kind-heartedness, virtues which the Chilenos do eminently possess, along with the vices bequeathed by their Spanish oppressors. Chile is the Italy of South America, and wants nothing but a permanently good government, and rational freedom, to make it one of the most desirable countries in the world.

A question naturally arises as to what are to be the future relations of Spanish America with the Peninsula.

A proof of the forgiving spirit of the South Americans may be perceived in the liberty which Spaniards are already permitted to enjoy in Chile, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, although those republics are still at war with Spain. At Lima, Arequipa, Potosi, Buenos Ayres, Santiago, and other places, Spaniards form no inconsiderable portion of the influential part of society. Spanish property, with Spanish supercargoes, is freely admitted in neutral ships from neutral ports. Spaniards are occasionally employed in civil offices of great trust, and frequently in military commands. In Bolivia, the secretary of state, Don Facundo Infantes, is a Spaniard, who left the Peninsula for the purpose of joining the Viceroy La Serna, but he did not arrive in Peru until after the battle of Ayacucho.

The liberality of South Americans forms a noble contrast to the treatment they received from the Cortes in its ultra liberal days. The Cortes, it is true, passed some decrees which were as wise, mild, beneficent, and protective, as the best laws of the Council of the Indies. But, in both cases, they were merely laws on paper, for the observance of them was not even attempted to be enforced. Not only was the constitutional government blind to the best interests of Spain, in refusing justice to America, but, swayed by ancient prejudices, they took active steps to prevent the recognition of its independence by other nations. On the 29th of November, 1821, Bardaxi, minister of state for foreign affairs, addressed a remonstrance to the Portuguese chargé d'affaires at Madrid, upon the subject of the court of Rio de Janeiro having recognized the independence of Buenos Ayres.

On the 10th of May, 1822, a circular note was addressed to the ministers of the Allied Powers, by the secretary, Don Martinez de la Rosa, not only to dissuade them from acknowledging the new states, but also pointing out the danger to legitimate power of such an example.

These documents, which are in the possession of a gentleman now in London, unequivocally show the extreme folly of the constitutionalists with regard to America.

This insane policy would be incredible, if it were not well known that the very country which may justly boast of, perhaps, the finest peasantry in the world, does, at the same time, produce an unfortunate abundance of infatuated and short-sighted declaimers. The South Americans have more frequently erred from mistaken mildness, than from undue severity, towards the inhabitants of what is, with mawkish affectation, called THE MOTHER COUNTRY, but which might have been more properly designated the VAMPIRE STEP-MOTHER, sucking the blood of her colonial offspring. If the Spaniards, residing amongst the patriots during the struggle for independence, have sometimes met with harsh treatment, they have generally drawn it upon themselves by their restless spirit of intrigue to bring about a counter-revolution. Excepting when they have taken part with contending factions, or that the country was in danger by the immediate proximity of Spanish troops, the Spanish residents have seldom been exposed even to rigid surveillance. We know, indeed, of one instance of eight or nine hundred Spaniards being sent from Lima, under an escort, at an hour's notice, and of their being shipped off from Callao in a very hurried and brutal manner. This occurred in consequence of the royalists having obtained an important advantage at Ica. They were supposed to be in full advance upon the capital. It was notorious that many of the Spanish residents were in correspondence with the royalists, and at that time strongly urged them to advance to Lima. Notwithstanding the apparent necessity of expelling all Spaniards from the capital, the authors of this frightful exception to the general leniency of the South Americans did not pass uncensured or unpunished. The barbarous manner in which this precautionary measure was effected was loudly condemned at the time by every good patriot in the army, and by the mass of the inhabitants. Monteagudo, the adviser of the act, was soon afterwards declared an outlaw, and escaped being torn to pieces by the populace by getting on board a ship at Callao. On his return to Lima, from Quito, three or four years afterwards, he fell under the stiletto of an assassin. His colleague, the political apostate Torre Tagle, who was then supreme delegate, perished miserably, in 1825, in Callao.

The bugbear of the invasion of Mexico from the Havannah has kept alive hostile feelings, and led to rigorous measures, on the part of the Mexicans. Some of the Spanish constitutionalists still adhere to the extravagant idea, that the re-conquest of that country is not only practicable, but that it would be attended with little difficulty. Let those soi-disant *liberales* read the valuable work of Mr. Ward, late British envoy at Mexico; and if they remain still unconvinced of the hopelessness of again subjugating that country, then are they incorrigible and incurable.

When the North Americans uttered their first cry of independence, how many of the greatest and noblest characters, both within and without the walls of the British Parliament—how many writers, of the highest rank and noblest genius, advocated their cause, and stimulated their glorious exertions! But, in Spain, what pen ever wrote—what voice ever pronounced the words, "Let America be independent?" Flowery speeches, and conciliatory laws, were occasionally made by the Cortes to *gild*, not to *break*, the chains by which America was enthralled: but these laws were unobserved, and the Americans were still treated in a manner that would have disgraced the Divan of Constantinople.

In June, 1821, Messrs. Ravenga and Echeverria arrived at Madrid, as commissioners from Colombia, on the express and special invitation of the then existing constitutional government, for the purpose of discussing and adjusting the differences between Spain and Colombia. Mr. Zea, the Colombian envoy to England, went to Madrid to meet the commissioners, to assist in their deliberations. Upon the arrival of these gentlemen, they had an interview of mere introduction with Mr. Bardaxi. The commissioners remained in the Spanish capital ninety days; and although they wrote repeatedly to Bardaxi, they never were able to obtain a second interview with this *liberal* minister of the *liberal* Spanish government. At the end of this period they were much surprised to receive an order to leave the capital within twenty-four hours. Ravenga and Echeverria quitted Madrid on the same day. Mr. Zea, who had been prefect of Malaga in the reign of King Joseph, and whose scientific and high literary reputation gave him considerable influence, was permitted to remain four or five days longer.

Yet, in despite of the egotistical *liberalism* of Spain, South America magnanimously consigns her wrongs to oblivion, and, guided by an enlightened policy, admits those very men who were so obstinate in not acknowledging her independence. To Spaniards of peaceful habits, in quest of an asylum, and willing to conform to the laws, South America wisely opens her hospitable arms: but, against hostile Spain, the States of America are as firmly closed as the gates of Heaven against the fallen angels.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Miguel Fernandez.—Journey from Potosi.—Jujuy.—Salta.—The ladies of Salta.—Doctor Redhead.—General Arenales.—The province of Salta.—General Miller presented with a grant of land.—Tucuman.—Unceremonious change of governors.—Santiago del Estero.—Cordova.—Marshal Beresford.—General Paroissien.—Arrival at Buenos Ayres.

As individual instances tend to illustrate the character of a people, the following particulars are given relative to a young Peruvian, whom General Miller left sick at Potosi.

When Miller landed at Supe in 1824, on his return from Chile, he was accosted by a very fine lad, who, with tears of joy, recalled himself to the recollection of the general. "I am," said he, "the drummer, Miguel Fernandez, who passed over to you on the mountain of Puruchuco, in 1821, when you were pursuing the royalists. I afterwards served as drummer in your battalion. I became a prisoner at the battle of Moquegua, and was compelled to serve again with the king's troops; but, with twenty-eight of the dispersed men of General Alvarado's army, I once more ran away, and we formed ourselves into a montonero party in the valley of Tambo. Our intention was to force our way to Ocoña, but we found that you had moved nearer to Lima; and we were hard pressed by parties sent in pursuit of us from Arequipa. We were frequently obliged to disperse, but we as constantly managed to reunite. As we never plundered, the inhabitants favoured us in our difficulties, and supplied our wants until we were once more in a condition to face the *godos*. We had many skirmishes, but we generally came well off. Sometimes we carried off their cavalry horses when left in pasture at night, and molested them in every other way we could imagine. At length a formidable party was sent to scour the valley, and we could remain there no longer. We fled to Ilo; took possession of a decked boat lying in the port, and, without even a compass, coasted it before the wind, until we had the good fortune to arrive here a week ago. I am now a serjeant of montoneros; but I will tear the three stripes from my arm if you will allow me to become your servant, or follow you as an orderly." The lad begged so hard that his request was complied with, and he remained in the service of Miller until the period arrived for his quitting Potosi to return to England. In the campaign of 1824, Miguel never lost sight of his master. He distinguished himself by a coolness beyond his years, particularly at Chuquibamba, and other places within the royalist line, when the patriot reconnoitring party was cut off, and retreat became apparently hopeless. He kept close to his master at the battles of Junin and Ayacucho. Miller offered to make him a cadet, but he was so much attached to him, that he preferred remaining as his servant. He was the youngest son of a captain in the Spanish service, who left a widow with a very numerous family. He was vivacious, intelligent, and immoveably good-humoured. His manners were respectful, and, notwithstanding his menial situation, they were gentlemanly. Born in Lima, he had what is termed *the lip of a Limenian*; that is, he was one who could sit and recount lively and amusing anecdotes from morning till night. The only inconvenience in his character as a servant was his being almost always deeply in love, however frequently he might change his quarters.

Miller having left Potosi on the 28th November, after a fatiguing ride of one hundred and thirty-three leagues, he reached Jujuy * on the 5th of December, where he halted two nights. On the morning after his arrival, he rode round the environs of the town, accompanied by the governor and some of the inhabitants, who pointed out the house which General La Serna once occupied, and which he caused to be surrounded by breast-works. The vestiges of other defensive mounds were also visible in other parts of the town, and confirm what has been said in a previous chapter, of the extreme difficulty of maintaining even a very strong regular force in the midst of hostile *gauchos*. Narrow paths, clumps of trees, and other situations, were also pointed out as having once been used by them as places of ambuscade, whence they unexpectedly darted upon the royalists, and frequently caused them severe losses.

The country round Jujuy is very fine, and forms a striking contrast to the cheerless, rugged, and barren aspect which prevails from Potosi to the *quebrada* of Humaguaca, where nature assumes a verdant aspect, and which continues to improve at every step till you arrive at Jujuy, which is about twenty leagues from Humaguaca. The valley of Jujuy is like a magnificent avenue leading to the Pampas. A contrast equally striking is observable in the appearance of the inhabitants. The timid Indian of Upper Peru, cradled in abject slavery, is uncomplainingly submissive, and seems hardly to belong to the family of mankind. The open-countenanced gaucho, on the contrary, has freedom stamped upon his brow, and an air of cheerfulness and independence pervades all his actions. The governor very kindly intended giving Miller a ball, for the purpose of introducing him to his fair townswomen, who, though somewhat reserved in their manners, are generally reputed as very handsome; but this hospitable attention was partly prevented by heavy rains, which hindered the ladies from leaving their houses. There was but one close carriage in all Jujuy, and that, most unluckily for Miller, happened to be out of repair. Four or five ladies of the neighbourhood, however, came on horseback. They danced the minuet and fandango with much grace and spirit.

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* Jujuy is four hundred and thirty-three leagues from Buenos Ayres, and five hundred and forty-one from Lima.

On the following morning, Miller recommenced his journey. He was aware that the Salteño merchants resident in Potosi had written to their friends in Salta, requesting them to give him the best reception; and having heard on the road that the public authorities had made preparations to meet him outside of the town, he took care to arrive there a day before he was expected. He therefore entered *incognito*, on the evening of the 7th of December. Instead of occupying a house that was getting ready for him, he took up his residence with Señor Don Facundo Zuviria, to whom he had been particularly recommended by his good friend Señor de Uriburu.

A grand dinner was given on the 11th. Eighty ladies and gentlemen sat down around tables arranged under an awning, in the open court-yard of Señor Zuviria's house. On the following day the governor gave a dinner; and subsequently two splendid balls were got up.

The Salteña women are graceful in their persons, possess a natural elegance of manner, and combine an attractive airiness with the fascinating softness, so general to the ladies of South America. They walk and dance with all the bewitching elasticity and captivating grace of a Vestris; and, like her, many of them are endowed with an exquisite taste for music. The Salteñas are celebrated for making good wives. Whenever the royalist forces were in possession of the town, though it were but for a short time, numbers of the officers were sure to become *Benedicts*. The higher classes of society are noble-minded, sociable, and well informed. The only English resident there was Doctor Redhead, an eminent physician. This gentleman happened to arrive at Salta, in his way to Potosi, about eighteen years before, and was so delighted with the place that he has continued to live there ever since. He is highly respected for his amiable manners, and great professional talents. Dr. Redhead does not profess to exercise his art, but gives advice in difficult cases, for which he seldom receives any other fee than general admission to the tables of his friends, and a hearty welcome to the produce of their farms.

Whether it be the romantic novelty of many places in South America, the salubrity of the climate, the free, unrestrained intercourse of the more polished classes, or whether there be some undefinable charm in that state of society which has not passed beyond a certain point of civilization, certain it is that few foreigners have resided for any length of time in Chile, Peru, or in the principal towns of the Pampas, without feeling an ardent desire to revisit them. In this number might be named several European naval officers who have served in the Pacific, and who have expressed these sentiments, although they move in the very highest circles of England and France. Countries which have not reached the utmost pitch of refinement have their peculiar attractions, as well as the most highly polished nations: but, to the casual resident, the former offers many advantages unattainable in Europe. The virtue of hospitality, exiled by luxury and refinement, exhibits itself in the New World under such noble and endearing forms as would almost tempt the philosopher, as well as the weary traveller, to dread the approach of the factitious civilization that would banish it.

In the Pampas, where a scarcity of food is unknown to the poorest, that calculating avarice which, in its fears for to-morrow, would look with apathy on the wants of the stranger, can have but a limited sway. Kind offices are, therefore, more freely and disinterestedly conferred than in less abundant regions. In addition to this, the dearth of society in a thinly-sprinkled population renders the presence of a traveller on their isolated *haciendas* a source of gratification. If his appearance afford no ground for mistrust, and if his manners are not disagreeable, his being a stranger is a sufficient passport to a kind and hearty welcome. Whether he be rich or poor is not a subject of inquiry, and makes no difference in the reception.

The South Americans are gay, and fond of dancing, music, and singing. There are few, whether wealthy or otherwise, who are not proficients in one or other of these accomplishments. In the warmer latitudes, people carry on not only their usual occupations, but their amusements, chiefly in the open air; and as singing constitutes one of the principal sources of the latter, the continued exercise of the voice harmonizes and strengthens it. Perhaps no opera, in Europe, could afford, to a natural and unsophisticated ear, so rich a treat as that which may be enjoyed in Cuzco, Arequipa, and other cities, where the ancient Peruvian airs are sung in the rich and melodious tones of the natives.

The South Americans possess great intellectual quickness, and a retentive memory. The following may be cited as an extraordinary instance of the latter faculty. An old man, a native of La Paz, in Upper Peru, and of unmixed Indian blood, who kept an inn at Curicavi, between Valparaiso and Santiago, could repeat nearly the whole of Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, and was better acquainted with the history of England than most Englishmen. He spoke of Queen Boadicea, and was as familiar with the history of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster as if they had occurred in his own country and in his own times. He had been brought up by the jesuits. He had made two voyages to Canton, and was known by the name of "the Emperor of China," in consequence of frequently amusing his guests with long stories about the *celestial empire.*

The Peruvians have great natural talents for painting and sculpture. They generally produce striking likenesses, but, being uninstructed in the principles of these arts, their pictures have no other merit. There is, however, a female figure, done in 1711 by a native of Quito, which is considered as one of the finest paintings in a very good collection belonging to Mynheer Vandermarlin, of Brussels. This interesting picture has unfortunately been defaced, by order of a former proprietor, whose fastidious taste was shocked by the voluptuous truth and nature of the bosom of the Venus, and an ordinary artist was employed to daub a covering over it.

An Indian in Arequipa carved some figures of the incas, in wood, which were sent to the Emperor Alexander of Russia. His imperial majesty was so much pleased with them, that he sent the Order of St. Anne and a snuff-box, with his portrait set in diamonds, to the gentleman who employed the Indian artist.

Salta is one of the federal provinces of the republic of the Rio de la Plata. General Arenales, a native of Spain, was at this time the governor. He is one of the most distinguished supporters of the cause of independence, in which he has received several severe wounds, and is well known for the stern incorruptibility of his character. He sailed with the liberating expedition from Valparaiso, and was one of Miller's early friends. Although Arenales is seventy years of age, he is remarkably active. He has a long scar, from a sabre wound, in his cheek, which adds interest to his veteran appearance: The tout ensemble of his person has a striking resemblance to that of Farren, in the character of Oxenstiern, in the play of the "Youthful Queen," excepting that Arenales bends a little under the weight of years.

The province of Salta lies between 21° and 27° of south latitude. Its western part belongs to the great range of the cordilleras, and is rich in metals. In one of the intervals between the low collateral branches of the Andes is situated the capital. The country to the eastward becomes flat, and continues so to the very banks of the Bermejo and Paraná. These plains, called the *Llanos de Manso* and *El Gran Chaco*, are peopled entirely by uncivilized Indians; for at no great distance from Oran, and farther south from the river Salado, the Spanish or creole population gradually dwindles into nothing. The climate varies, from frost to the heat of the tropics, in the different parts of the province, in proportion as they are more or less elevated. These differences are sensibly felt, even at short distances: for example, in the summer months, when Fahrenheit's thermometer is at eighty degrees in the town of Salta, the air is agreeably cool at the *hacienda* of San Lorenzo, distant only two or three leagues; after sunset the air is so chilly, that a cloak, which could not be endured in the town, is almost necessary at the *hacienda*. The country is in general healthy: the only endemical disease is the ague; but this is prevalent only in some of the lower districts, and yields to common remedies.

The population is not exactly known; the proportion of one inhabitant to two square leagues may be an approximate calculation. The town of Salta contains about five thousand, Jujuy about two thousand, inhabitants. Ten or twelve small villages may average about a hundred and fifty each; a great proportion is distributed in the *haciendas*.

The staple produce of the province is cattle. Previous to the revolution, from sixty to eighty thousand mules, belonging chiefly to Cordova and Santa Fé, were annually offered for sale at the fair of Salta. The government at that time received a duty of one dollar upon each mule sent to Peru. This was called *sisa*, but only produced 50,000 dollars a year to the revenue, a great number of mules being smuggled out of the country. The owners of the estates, on which the mules wintered, received a dollar a head for the winter's run. From sixteen to eighteen thousand head of oxen were likewise exported to Peru every year: the *sisa* upon them was three quarters of a dollar each. Soap, tallow, and dried beef were also articles of export. The returns were usually made in dollars, and money was then abundant;

but the country has been much impoverished by the interruption, during the revolution, of so lucrative a trade.

With such advantages, every other branch of industry was neglected. The province contains gold, silver, copper, and lead mines; but none of these are attended to, with the exception of the gold mines of the Rinconada, which are but superficially worked.

Perhaps the principal reason for this is the disinclination of the gauchos to any thing like hard manual labour; but when this district shall become thickly peopled, its mineral riches will be no longer neglected. Cotton, tobacco, wheat, barley, Indian corn, honey, and wax, are produced; cochineal is found in some places, and the indigo plant is indigenous; yet of these articles, wheat, maize, cotton, and tobacco alone are made particular objects of cultivation. Although the vine is not uncommon, wines and brandies are brought from San Juan and Rioja; sugar has of late years been made upon two or three estates, and rice has been cultivated at Campo Santo. With excellent timber of its own, Salta still depends upon Tucuman for boards and household furniture.

Salta is situated a few leagues to the left of the direct road from Buenos Ayres to Lima, by the way of Potosi. A considerable quantity of hides and tallow is sent to Buenos Ayres, on cars drawn by bullocks, which bring European merchandise in return to Salta, whence it is conveyed, by mules, to Potosi, &c. It is probable that a great part of this overland transport of four hundred leagues will be superseded by water carriage on the river Bermejo, which begins to be navigable about sixty leagues from Jujuy and seventy east of Salta. The Bermejo falls into the river Paraguay below Asumpcion.

Miller remained at Salta eight days. Previous to his departure, the governor, authorized by the provincial junta, presented him with a grant of land on the right bank of the Bermejo, six leagues in length and four in width, which is equal to about one hundred and fifty thousand English acres. The title-deeds of this donation were presented in the most flattering manner, and in testimony, as General Arenales was pleased to say in his official letter, of the admiration and gratitude of the Salteños for Miller's services in the cause of South American independence.

After empowering his friend Don Facundo Zuviria to take formal and legal possession, and to purchase cattle to turn loose upon the estate, Miller left an order for a sum of money to purchase a small piece of ground, in the town of Salta, to build a house upon. He left that place on the 16th of December, impressed with the liveliest sense of gratitude towards its worthy inhabitants. He had purchased a two-wheeled carriage, built at Buenos Ayres. Vehicles of this description are generally drawn by three horses, each ridden by a postillion. Two of these postillions went on all the way to Buenos Ayres, and the third was relieved at every stage, to take back the horses. He reached Tucuman on the 19th, where he was most hospitably received by the governor, Colonel La Madrid, an officer who had displayed great bravery in the course of the revolution. He had been but a short time in office, having a few days previously deposed his predecessor, Colonel Lopez. La Madrid had been commissioned by the Argentine government to make a tour, in order to hasten, by his activity and influence, the march of the provincial contingents intended to augment the army of Uruguay, at that time in observation on the Brazils. He thought this a favourable opportunity to avenge the death of an uncle who some years before had been governor of Tucuman, and, who was deposed, and with other individuals, executed, by order of Lopez, who then assumed the governorship of the province. La Madrid collected a party of gauchos, and an action was fought within a league of the city, in which Lopez was defeated, and took shelter in Salta. This irregularity was overlooked, on account of the support which La Madrid afforded to the general government. He has since then been deposed by a rival party, and was severely wounded in a hard contested gaucho battle. Had he been taken prisoner, he would have suffered the fate of his uncle; but he escaped, and, like his predecessor Lopez, took refuge in Salta.

Tucuman, capital of the province of the same name, is a straggling city, situated in 27° south latitude. The houses in general are of an inferior description. It occupies a distinguished place in the history of the country. It was here that Belgrano defeated Don Pio Tristan; and it was here that the first Argentine congress assembled, and issued its declaration of independence, and its celebrated manifesto in 1816. The province is fertile, producing rice of a superior quality, Indian corn, tobacco, oranges, water melons, melons, and *camotes* of an extraordinary size. The dairies of the province are also famed for the goodness of their cheese, which is considered equal to Parmesan. The country is well wooded and watered, and, having much of hill and dale, the scenery is frequently beautiful.

On the 21st of December, Miller left Tucuman, and on the 22d reached Santiago del Estero, the capital of the province of the same name. The town contains about 3000 inhabitants; in the whole province there may be 50,000. It is very extensive; the soil is exceedingly fertile, and wheat produces about seventy fold. It is, as in most other parts of South America, sown, in a random sort of manner, on land that has been slightly scratched, without its ever being thought worth while to clear it of the bushes or trees which may happen to be upon it. Weeding is never thought of. The corn is mowed when ripe, and trodden out by mares or oxen. The English manner of ploughing has been attempted in some parts of the country, but it has been found that it will not answer. Europeans often, on their first arrival, show too great a zeal to introduce the methods of their own countries; but a short trial soon convinces them that their wisest way is to follow the system of the natives, which it may be well to improve upon, but not to supersede altogether. Agricultural, as well as mining and other improvements, must be introduced gradually, in order to become generally beneficial. Europeans must condescend to learn *a little* from the natives, if they wish to succeed in teaching them *a great deal.* The South Americans are not free from religious bigotry, but it is of a milder character than that which disgraces older countries. They seldom attempt to fathom the religious sentiments of a foreigner, nor do they make a display of their own. Neither are they moved to angry feelings on this head, unless roused by the insulting comparison of some indiscreet enthusiast, who is perhaps the object of their kindest hospitality. The agricultural classes of South America are also less wedded to the customs of their forefathers than the corresponding classes in Europe. The South Americans are eager to learn, and easily led on from improvement to improvement; but no people like to be driven, much less by persons totally ignorant of localities.

If an agricultural board had begun to execute the designs, which were so beautifully got up in London, of magnificent cities and rural villages with poetical names, plans of churches, villas, ornamental cottages, lodges, park-gates, &c. the *gaucho* would not have been ill-natured enough to have asked, where were the madhouses for the residences of the directors? but he would have shrugged up his shoulders most significantly at the idea of expending enormous sums in constructing fairy palaces upon the Pampas. However, although attempts on such a scale must fail, small well regulated colonies would confer incalculable benefit on the country, and be productive to all the parties concerned.

The majority of the inhabitants of the province of Santiago del Estero speak the Quichua only. As this language ceases to be spoken some leagues to the north of Jujuy, it furnishes a curious living proof that the empire of the Incas must have extended to the southern boundary of the province of Tucuman, to which Santiago del Estero belonged in those days.

On the 23d, Miller set out from Santiago del Estero, and on the 26th reached Cordova. The Señor Don José Maria Fragueiro, a gentleman of great landed property, and also a wealthy merchant, had provided apartments for him in his own house. From the numerous branches of the Fragueiro family, Miller received the kindest attention, as also from the governor, General Bustos. Cordova, situated 31° 15′ south latitude, is perhaps the prettiest city in South America. The streets are good, and the houses large, commodious, and furnished in good taste. The public promenade is well laid out, and is a great ornament to the town. It occupies a piece of rising ground, which is encircled by avenues of stately trees. In the centre is a large sheet of water, in the middle of which is an island, just large enough to serve as the foundation for a fancifully constructed temple. The *plaza* is a very fine square: its cathedral and some of the churches are handsome buildings. It is the seat of an university. It has numerous convents, and was the *head-quarters* of the Jesuits, who were the founders of every establishment deserving of notice in this part of the country. The place still swarms with monks, who retain more influence there than in most other parts of South America.

The day after Miller's arrival, he was visited, agreeably to the forms of South American etiquette, by deputations from the secular clergy and the monastic orders. After the usual compliments had been exchanged, and most of the company had taken leave, the prior, who had headed the monastic deputation, returned, and requested a private conference. He said, his object was, in the first place, to express his admiration of the British generally, and, in the second, to satisfy his mind relative to an author who deserved to be canonized for one of the best and ablest works that had ever seen daylight. It had been translated into Spanish, and read at least half a dozen times by every good Christian in Cordova. The reverend prior seemed to take it for granted that this celebrated writer could not but be personally known to Miller, who was therefore appealed to, to settle a dispute which had arisen in the monasteries as to whether he was of English or Irish origin. The latter was believed until an *attaché* to one of the mining establishments had said, when passing through Cordova on his way to Potosi, that the writer in question was an Englishman. This produced a sort of schism; but the majority still clung to the opinion, that Ireland alone could have produced so shining and saintly a pillar of orthodoxy in these degenerate times. Miller, very much at a loss for an answer to the prior's long and animated harangue, was at last relieved from the suspense arising from his utter ignorance of the subject, by the prior's drawing a book from his gown sleeve with great ceremony, and, making the sign of the cross, opening it with tokens of profound veneration. Then handing it to the general, and, pointing to the name at the bottom of the title page, he said, triumphantly, "Is he not an Irishman?" The book was *La Historia de la*

Reformacion, por Don Guillermo Cobbett." The point in dispute was finally settled by the general's telling the prior that the author was an Englishman, and that in England there were some few good Christians as well as in Ireland.

As this will be the last time the clergy or monastic orders will be alluded to, we shall here introduce an anecdote or two, to show the manner in which the South American patriots have been treated by some who have possessed the character of sanctity.

The bishop of Arequipa, who died in January, 1818, enjoyed, whilst living, the reputation of a saint. His unspotted life could only be equalled by his excessive charity towards hardened and profligate sinners. When he was once told that a clergyman pursued infamously lewd courses, the bishop mildly answered, "Let him petition for mercy." At another time he was told that another clergyman had uttered the most horrid blasphemies: this immovably placid saint observed, "Unhappy man! let him bow himself before the throne of grace, and implore for the intercession of the blessed, who are continually singing hosannahs in the presence of the Most High;" and there it ended. But if he were told that a clergyman was a patriot, hell was too good a place for the wretch, in the opinion of the righteous bishop. Some patriots very gravely assert, that when the body of the bishop was opened, the surgeons discovered that he had no heart, but that something in that shape was found, and was composed of a substance just like charcoal. Miller saw a pastoral circular, from Goyeneche, successor to the beforementioned saint, enjoining the clergy of his diocese to refuse absolution to the dying, unless they previously abjured patriotic principles.

A *cedula* of the King of Spain, promulgated by the Council of the Indies on the 4th of February, 1825, and addressed to the archbishops and bishops of both Americas, and of the Philippine Islands, imbodied an *enciclica*, or papal rescript, dated 24th September, 1824, sealed with the apostolic seal, signed by the late pontiff Leo XII., and countersigned by Cardinal Albano. Alluding to the Spanish American revolution, his holiness thus addressed the bench of bishops: "We flatter ourself that a subject of such grave importance will, through your influence, and the aid of divine Providence, have that happy and speedy result that we promise ourself, provided you dedicate yourselves to make manifest to your flocks the august and distinguished qualities which characterize our very beloved son Ferdinand, catholic king of the Spains, whose sublime and substantial virtues outshine the splendour of his greatness * * and if with due zeal you expound, for the consideration of all, the illustrious and unapproachable merits of Spaniards resident in Europe, who have proved their ever-constant loyalty by sacrificing their interests or their lives, out of love for, and in defence of, legitimate power. * * *"

His holiness, however, had the worldly wisdom to alter his tone after the American governments notified to him that, unless he should think proper to appoint archbishops and bishops to the various vacant sees, they would immediately proceed to do so themselves, independently of papal authority. The republicans of South America forthwith became his holiness's "most beloved and delectable children in Christ;" and their worthy plenipotentiary at Rome, Señor de Tejada, deservedly enjoyed the favour and consideration of the sovereign pontiff.

Tucuman, Santiago del Estero, and Cordova, are all bounded on the east by the Grand Chaco, the country of the Abipones, through which the noble and navigable river of the Bermejo runs, previous to its junction with the Paraguay. The grand Chaco once contained two millions of aborigines. There were, according to Dobrizhofer, seventy-three large towns. The Spaniards formed several establishments, but their cruelties occasioned the natives to rise and destroy them. The mamelucos, as the Brazilian marauders were called, made frequent and destructive incursions, and burnt their towns and villages. The inhabitants of the Grand Chaco are now very much reduced in number, but they still retain their independence. Between the Bermejo and Pilcomayo are what are called "foot Indians," who never mount a horse. This is ascribed to their timidity, but perhaps it may be traced to a deep policy, which, by keeping their territory destitute of horses, prevents the whites or creoles from invading a country which, on that account, is an undesirable conquest; besides which, a great part of the country is covered with wood, and the herds of cattle are by no means numerous.

A great difference was observable in the provincial governments. That of Salta was a very favourable specimen of a mild democracy. That of Tucuman was nominally democratic, but the influence of the governor, and his distaste to any species of legislative control, rendered him, in effect, absolute.

At Cordova a strong spirit of opposition existed, particularly in the mercantile class; but the governor, who protected the church, was in turn supported by ecclesiastical and monastic influence. Besides this, he had two thousand well appointed troops. The provincial junta was powerless, and it was a matter of no small danger to carry opposition beyond a certain point.

The governor of Santiago del Estero was avowedly absolute. He never even professed to consider himself accountable for the expenditure of the taxes; but as these were confined to a sort of custom-house duty on merchandise passing through the province, the *gauchos* were perfectly satisfied with his administration. Indeed, these people seldom trouble themselves about forms of government, so long as their individual liberty and property are not infringed. There was no provincial junta; the only public officer, besides the governor, was his secretary. In 1824, the former very narrowly escaped assassination by a Frenchman, who, having been tried and publicly whipped for coining and uttering counterfeit money, determined, in revenge, to take the life of the governor. A few nights after undergoing his punishment, the Frenchman entered the house unperceived, and crept softly to that which he imagined to be the governor's bed-room. Here he found a person asleep, and, drawing forth a pistol, instantly shot him dead. The assassin had mistaken his victim: it was the secretary. The Frenchman fled, but was afterwards taken, and executed for the murder. He displayed great courage in his last moments; declaring he should have died perfectly happy, had he but succeeded in killing the object of his hatred.

Miller arrived at Santiago del Estero about noon, and was warmly welcomed by the governor. A bath was got ready, and a plentiful dinner served up at two o'clock; after which the whole party retired to sleep the *siesta*. At six in the evening, they took a ride round the town and environs. During this, active messengers from the governor were employed in conveying his mandate to the ladies, requiring their company in the evening, and a snug little ball was got up, and followed by an excellent supper. Amongst those who sat down at the governor's table was an Englishman, who had resided for many years in that part of the world. He had been a surgeon, but was now a merchant. He enjoyed the full confidence, and was supposed to be the sole adviser, of the governor, who professed the utmost partiality towards Englishmen. He said he had two men in his escort who formerly belonged to the English army, who were faithful fellows, and could ride like gauchos, but were a little given to tippling. General Beresford's name was often mentioned on this line of road. The natives inquired particularly if "*el guapo* Beresfor" was still living. They all concurred in acknowledging that he first taught them to be soldiers, and asked many questions as to his career after he had left that country.

From Cordova the road was like one continued bowling-green. The postmasters were every where most attentive to the orders of the governor, to give their best horses, and have them in readiness. The pace Miller travelled at, averaged about fifteen miles an hour, and on one day, from sunrise to sunset, he posted it in this way fifty-two leagues. It was frequently necessary to throw water upon the wheels of the carriage, to prevent ignition.

When he arrived within one hundred leagues of Buenos Ayres, the postillions were alarmed by the appearance of an immense cloud of dust, which rose, towards evening, a few miles before them on the road. They said it must be caused by some horde of Indian savages, that occasionally made incursions into this part of the country, and that, they knew, never gave quarter to male travellers who fell into their hands. The postillions evidently felt an inclination to wheel about, and make a run of it; but the horses were fagged, and the cloud of dust approaching fast, there appeared no hope of escape. The alarm, however, subsided, on the appearance of a tilted carriage, something like an English ammunition waggon. This was followed by other carriages and horsemen. When they came up, Miller was most agreeably surprised by hearing his own name uttered in the well-known voice of his friend and countryman, General Paroissien, who was on his road from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, to take possession of mines which had been purchased by a company in London. He travelled *en prince*. Sir Edmund Temple accompanied him as secretary; under secretaries and attachés swelled out the train.

Paroissien entered the patriot service at the very commencement of the revolution. He was present at

Hauqui, and other early battles in Upper Peru. He was chief of the medical staff of the army of the Andes until 1820, when he was appointed aide-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, to General San Martin. After the patriots entered Lima, he was promoted to the rank of general of brigade, and sent with the Señor Don Juan Garcia del Rio on a mission to Europe. Having been relieved from the duties of their mission, they turned their attention to mining associations, and became directors of the Potosi company formed in London. Paroissien went out to Peru as commissioner. He died in 1827, on his passage from Arica to Valparaiso. He possessed a great store of general information, and his companionable and amiable manners made him universally esteemed.

Miller reached Buenos Ayres on the 6th of January, 1826. It was on that very day, eight years before, that he had set out from that city to join the army of the Andes in Chile. It would be difficult to describe his pleasurable feelings on this occasion. It was a delightful morning, and the bustle caused by the crowd of carriages, waggons, horses, mules, market people and inhabitants, which increased, as he advanced, formed a pleasing contrast with the solitary pampas he had just left behind. The marks of growing improvement and wealth presented themselves at every step; every thing, in fact, bore to him the most enlivening and exhilarating appearance. These, together with the idea of embracing in a few minutes many early and sincere friends whom he had not seen for so many years, created a feeling of happiness bordering almost on ecstacy.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Retrospect.—Buenos Ayres.—Anarchy.—Rodriguez.—Provincial junta.—Improvements.—Banda Oriental.—Lavalleja.—Congress.—War with the Brazils.—Rivadavia.—Las Heras.—Brown.—Alvear.—Policy of the emperor.—Garcia.—Dorrego.

Having in the first volume represented the affairs of the Argentine republic to have been, at the close of the year 1820, in a state of the wildest disorder, they have since been referred to but seldom. The arrival of Miller at Buenos Ayres now furnishes an opportunity of making some remarks upon that subject.

To enumerate the factions which successively got the upper hand at Buenos Ayres, or to describe their various intrigues to maintain themselves in power, would be to draw a most disgusting picture of the reign of anarchy. Numerous successive governors seized upon office, and retained it but for a few weeks, and in some instances for a still shorter period. These rapid changes were generally preceded by sanguinary struggles, and followed by banishments and proscriptions; but in no instance was confiscation of property resorted to; so far had public opinion wrought an improvement.

During the period which elapsed between the latter part of the year 1819 and the commencement of 1821, the whole of the provinces severally withdrew their allegiance from the central government, till then established in the metropolis. Thenceforward each province governed itself independently of the rest. In several of them contentions and disturbances arose, forming a counterpart to the transactions of the capital.

So difficult was it, at one time, for the inhabitants to know who was, or who was not, at the head of affairs, that Judge Prevost, an agent from the United States, a jocose sort of gentleman, used every morning before breakfast to look over the balcony of his house, and calling out to the first person passing would inquire, "Who governs to-day?" He was once answered "Quien sabe?" (who can tell?) He thought this so good a joke that he often repeated it to his friends, and it always excited a good deal of laughter, until, reaching the ears of an ephemeral governor, who was more than usually sensitive to sarcasm, the worthy judge was obliged very unceremoniously, and at four hours' notice, to ship himself off for Chile, in the Enterprise, belonging to Mr. Samuel Haigh, who went round Cape Horn in the same vessel.

This series of continual changes was at length terminated by the appointment of Colonel Don Martin Rodriguez, a rich landed proprietor, a man of considerable energy and determination, and very popular with the inhabitants, particularly the gauchos. He was of an unambitious character, and displayed much good sense in directing the power with which he was invested, to the formation of a settled administration. The people, wearied out by the harassing effects of varied misrule, seconded the efforts of Rodriguez, and gave effect to his patriotic intentions. He evinced the soundest discrimination in the choice of his colleagues, who, having been absent from the scene of anarchy, or out of the country for some time previously, were altogether unconnected with the intrigues that had so long distracted the republic. Don Bernardino Rivadavia was appointed secretary for foreign and home affairs, and became the soul of the new government. Don Francisco Cruz was made secretary for the war department, and Don Manuel Garcia, secretary of finance.

Notwithstanding the secession of the provinces, the government of Buenos Ayres was by tacit consent, the only channel through which negotiations with foreign powers were carried on. All foreign agents and consuls resided in that capital.

One of the first acts of the new administration was the formation of a constituent provincial junta of thirteen members. Four represented the city, and nine the province. Talents, good sense, and enlightened judgment, distinguished the proceedings of this body. Gomez, Aguerro, Frias, and others, spoke with the eloquence of Roman or British senators, and regular reports of their debates were printed and circulated throughout the provinces, where they were read with great avidity.

On the recommendation of the executive, which was empowered to propose laws, the junta passed decrees, which were not merely printed and promulgated, but ACTUALLY CARRIED INTO EFFECT:

For the inviolability of persons and property.

Oblivion of past political offences.

Religious toleration.

Extinction of the monastic orders.

The liberty of the press.

The administration of justice was rendered more pure.

The utmost attention was paid to the education of the rising generation. An university was erected, and one hundred students, from the provinces which had seceded, were kept on the establishment at the expense of Buenos Ayres.

Many schools were established in the capital, and several in the province.

Fifty or sixty youths of the first families were sent to England, France, or the United States, for education. This number is rather upon the increase.

The public library founded by Moreno was frequently enriched by donations.

A bank was established, which contributed greatly to sustain public credit. The whole of its expenses were defrayed by the profits arising from the discounting of bills. The directors were chosen from amongst the native merchants and British residents, who, for the most part, had acquired the privileges of citizens. The very able secretary, Don Santiago Wilde, was an Englishman.

A savings bank was also introduced, and it was well supported.

The few charitable institutions of Buenos Ayres became objects of public attention, and vaccination was very generally introduced.

Scientific associations and harmonic clubs were formed and well attended. A civic police was organized, and put in a most efficient state, not only in the city, but in several of the provinces. The foreign residents, alive to the welfare of philanthropic institutions, took the lead in the formation of a Lancasterian school. The highly talented Doña Mariquita de Thompson, Doña Mercedes de Riglos, and other respectable Buenos Ayrean ladies, as well as gentlemen, gave their powerful assistance, and the establishment, which became very popular, was speedily put upon the best possible footing.

Buenos Ayres cannot be justly accused of having willingly remained a tame spectator of the concluding campaigns of the war in Peru. That state had assisted the inhabitants of Chile in shaking off their dependence upon Spain; and both had conjointly laid the foundation for the liberation of Peru. But these costly efforts had exhausted the resources of Buenos Ayres, and, together with civil discord, had reduced the republic to a single province. She had therefore no longer the power, had she possessed the will, to continue to assist Peru in fighting the battles of independence. Under these circumstances, she wisely confined her attention to the amelioration of her own internal affairs. Her ministers aspired to the durable glory of establishing a government worthy of being imitated by every other section of South America, and they succeeded.

In pursuance of a very judicious plan of retrenchment, the army was reduced to a few hundred regulars, which, with the militia, were put upon a respectable footing, in order to provide against the incursions of the Indians *.

Such officers as were unemployed, and who had served either at home or in Chile and Peru, received a very handsome retired allowance.

Privateering was put a stop to; and only a few gun-boats remained in commission, which were kept in the roadstead of Buenos Ayres.

A new impulse was given to commerce; the custom-house was re-modelled; smuggling was most effectually prevented; and activity, zeal, and honesty, until then very far from general, pervaded this as well as every other public department.

Government, consulting its own dignity, declined to communicate with commanders of foreign vessels, or with other persons, however duly authorized, unless the communication was made agreeably to the forms observed in the intercourse between independent nations.

Rodriguez having served three years, the period prescribed by the provincial junta, General Don Gregorio de las Heras was duly elected his successor. About the same time Rivadavia came to England; but the same excellent system of govern-

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* During the period of anarchy, the Indians had become very formidable to Buenos Ayres, and to the Creole population in general throughout the Pampas; they had so much increased in numbers and audacity, that the patriot cavalry parties sent to repel their incursions were often put to a disgraceful flight. Captain, now Colonel, Rauch, a very brave German, put a stop to these irruptions by adopting the plan of forming his men on foot into hollow squares, with their horses in the centre. By keeping up a well-directed fire on the assailants, they were always repulsed; upon which his troops, remounting their horses, pursued the fugitives at an advantage with great slaughter. The brave and intrepid Rauch has since proceeded to attack these Indians in their own territory, and has so intimidated them as completely to put a stop to their inroads.

ment was continued. The republic, rising in respectability, was successively recognised by Portugal, the United States, and Great Britain. The provinces, which, as before stated, had separated from the metropolis, perceiving the beneficial results arising from good government, began to manifest a desire of re-connecting themselves with Buenos Ayres; but although this feeling was in consonance with the wishes of the government, which probably encouraged it, it still very properly abstained from any official act that could be construed into an anxiety to recover its former supremacy. In a short time the provinces spontaneously expressed their willingness to send deputies to represent them in a general congress, which they proposed should be held at Buenos Ayres.

The congress being installed on the 16th of December, 1824, it was determined that for every 7500 inhabitants a deputy should be returned, and consequently the number was materially increased. Each deputy received two thousand dollars annually, exclusive of his travelling allowances.

The revenue was so well administered that it not only covered the ordinary expenditure, but also paid the interest of the loan raised in England. The following translation of an official return shows the increase of the net revenue of the province of Buenos Ayres for the following years:

	Dollars.
1822	2,052,924
1823	2,367,912
1824	2,588,784
1825	2,633,148

As a further proof of increasing prosperity, the following number of houses were built in the course of four years, viz.

	In Town.	Country.	Total.
1822 . . .	144	12	156
1823 . . .	113	26	139
1824 . . .	165	57	222
1825 . . .	161	38	199
	583	133	716

Some of the streets of Buenos Ayres were formerly impassable, for days together, during the rainy season, even on horseback; a few only of the principal ones being paved; however, between the years 1822 and 1825, a length of street of more than two leagues, and about forty feet in width, was paved.

In 1817, the city of Buenos Ayres did not contain above sixty thousand inhabitants. In 1826, the population had augmented to one hundred thousand.

It was at this prosperous period that war broke out between the Buenos Ayrean republic and the Brazils. In Chapter III. it is stated that the Brazilians, in January, 1817, took possession of the Banda Oriental, under pretence of putting down anarchy, and to prevent the contagion spreading to the Brazils. The Buenos Ayreans, unable to repress the irruption of the Portuguese, did not oppose the occupation; but stipulated, as the condition of non-interference, that, as soon as provincial dissensions should cease, and Buenos Ayres should possess a regular and stable government, not likely to excite the alarm of its neighbour, the Portuguese should retire from the Banda Oriental. This condition was agreed to by the court of Rio Janeiro, and the Portuguese continued in possession, molested only by various provincial guerrilla parties, which were never entirely put down.

During the administration of Rodriguez, the Buenos Ayreans demanded the evacuation of the Banda Oriental, in conformity to the agreement between the two powers. In consequence of these demands, King John VI. ordered General Lecor, governor of Monte Video, to assemble the principal inhabitants of the district in dispute, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they would prefer being united to the Brazils, or being re-incorporated with Buenos Ayres. This was an infraction of the agreement; but it was fair when compared with the manner in which the order was executed, and the subsequent conduct of the Emperor Don Pedro.

Lecor, who had married a young and very beautiful lady of Monte Video, having perhaps a personal interest in remaining there, made up a junta to suit his own views, and obtained from them a declaration that the general wish was to continue under the dominion of his Most Faithful Majesty. Pinheyro, the minister of John VI., informed, through other channels, of the real sentiments of the *Orientales*, wrote to Lecor, telling him that he had disobeyed the orders of the king, and that a new assembly of the people must be convened to ascertain their free and unbiassed opinion*. Before this order could be carried into execution, the king sailed from Rio Janeiro for Lisbon; and the emperor, his son and successor, turned a deaf ear to every subsequent remonstrance.

The *Orientales*, observing the growing prosperity of Buenos Ayres, repeatedly signified their wishes to re-unite themselves with that province; while the Argentines themselves could not behold with indifference the key of the Rio de la Plata in the hands of the Brazils. They again reminded the court of Rio Janeiro of the condition upon which the Portuguese troops had been permitted to take and retain possession of the Banda Oriental; but received for answer, that the *Orientales* had expressed their wishes, and therefore should not be abandoned.

The Buenos Ayrean government clearly foresaw the disastrous consequences of a war; but it was borne along by the irresistible torrent of public opinion, loudly, energetically, and unanimously expressed. To have attempted to stem that torrent would have produced the immediate dissolution of the administration, without preventing the war.

In 1825, Don Juan Lavalleja, a native of the Banda Oriental, and who had long served with distinction under the brave Artigas, collected a party of thirty-two trusty comrades, principally *Orientales*, and crossed the Plata in an open launch. They disembarked at midnight on the left bank of the river, and, carrying their saddles and bridles with them, proceeded to a *hacienda* well known to them, and procured horses. Without losing a moment of time, they advanced to a place called *El Rincon de las Gallinas*, and, in the night of the 24th September, fell unawares upon a strong Brazilian detachment. This party was commanded by Don Fructoso Rivera, an *Oriental* by birth, but who was now in the Brazilian service. He instantly changed sides; and, with his assistance, Lavalleja, reinforced at every step, was enabled to surprise other strong parties of imperialists. By this time the news of Lavalleja's arrival spread like wildfire through the province, and he shortly found himself at the head of two thousand *gauchos*. The *Orientales* rose *en masse;* and the imperialists withdrew to Monte Video and Colonia, the only two fortresses in the province. Two thousand well appointed Brazilian cavalry were sent out from Monte Video under the orders of Colonel Ventos Gonzales, an officer of reputation, and who, on setting out, promised to annihilate Lavalleja. On the 12th of October, the hostile parties came within sight of each other at *La Cuchilla de Sarandi*. The Brazilians were well armed, well disciplined, and advanced in the steadiest order. The gauchos had only lances and swords: they being anxious to be led on, made a great noise; but Lavalleja, perceiving that the enemy advanced with their carbines in their hands, ordered his men not to move until the imperialists should have fired, which was to be the signal for them to charge. About sixty of the gauchos were killed by the volley; but the rest rushed on before the Brazilians could draw their swords. With the exception of about two hundred, who escaped, the whole of the *Fidalgo* party, as they were called, were killed or taken prisoners. Lavalleja became governor of the Banda Oriental. He convoked a provincial junta, which declared it to be the general wish of the *Orientales* to incorporate themselves with Buenos Ayres; and on the 25th October, 1825, this province was admitted into the Argentine federation. Lavalleja was made brigadier-general.

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* This fair and honourable proceeding of the liberal and enlightened Portuguese minister, Pinheyro, is further seen in his release of the *Orientales* confined as prisoners of war on the island of Cobras, in the harbour of Rio Janeiro. Amongst seventy or eighty, so set at liberty, were Lavalleja, and a brother of Artigas.

On the 10th December, 1825, the emperor declared war. The Buenos Ayrean declaration followed, on the 3d of January, 1826.

Don Bernardino Rivadavia returned from Europe in December, 1825, being the bearer of the ratified treaty of commerce and amity between Great Britain and the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. He was elected president of the republic on the 7th of February, 1826. He appointed Don Julian Segunda de Aguerro, secretary for the home department; General Don Francisco de la Cruz, secretary for foreign affairs, in the room of Don Manuel Garcia, who had declined accepting office; General Don Carlos Alvear, secretary at war; and Don Salvador Maria Carril, secretary of finance.

The provincial junta formed during the governorship of Rodriguez dissolved itself, and the affairs of the province were placed under the immediate direction of the president of the republic. Accordingly, General Las Heras, the successor of Rodriguez, vacated his seat. He immediately retired to Chile, chagrined, it was said, at not being re-elected, and somewhat disgusted at the supercilious and pompous manner with which Rivadavia treated him. Las Heras is one of the earliest and bravest defenders of the republic. To a soldier-like frankness and firmness, and to the most upright conduct in office, he united a scrupulous deference to the legislative body. He signalized himself in the field, while Rivadavia was moving at his ease from one European capital to another, and where, perhaps, he might have remained in comparative obscurity, but for the gallantry of Las Heras at Cancharayada.

The provinces entered into the spirit of the war, and furnished their contingents with great readiness.

The gallant Captain Brown, who so highly distinguished himself in the taking of Monte Video in 1814, was now made admiral, and appointed to command the Buenos Ayrean flotilla, recently augmented by some small vessels of war. A number of unemployed seamen, of all nations, who generally abound in the principal sea-ports of South America, eagerly flocked on board the flotilla. Influenced by the same feeling, many British residents, established in small shops, gave up a thriving trade to serve as volunteers under the intrepid Brown. Even many of the settlers sent out from England by Mr. Barber Beaumont relinquished their agricultural prospects, and entered the service with enthusiasm.

The admiral performed many brilliant exploits against very superior forces in the outer roads of

Buenos Ayres, as well as off Monte Video, and several other parts of the river.

In the contemplation of an approaching rupture, an army of observation had been formed on the right bank of the Uruguay. General Alvear, having returned from his mission in Upper Peru, was named general-in-chief*. The army consisted of about seven thousand five hundred regulars, besides about three thousand armed gauchos and militia, who were with Lavalleja and other chiefs. The Buenos Ayreans gained the battle of Ituzaingo on the 20th of February, 1827. The war continued. A change took place in the government; commerce was crippled; and public credit shaken. Foreign merchants, and some wealthy natives who had speculated in government securities, suffered most severely. But with these exceptions, the war was as popular as ever. The victory of Ituzaingo and the brilliant efforts of the gallant Admiral Brown were alike the theme of their constant exultation. War suits the taste of the restless gaucho, who could now procure his favourite dish of *carne con cuero* as easily as in former days. The Mendozinos, and the inhabitants of other provinces producing wines and brandy, were no longer undersold by the French; and although the government and the principal inhabitants of Buenos Ayres would gladly have made peace, yet no treaty could be carried into full effect if it did not stipulate for the union of the Banda Oriental with Buenos Ayres, or, at least, for its absolute independence.

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* Alvear, when a boy, was conveyed from Buenos Ayres to Europe in one of the four Spanish frigates captured by the British, previous to the declaration of war in 1804. The day before the action took place, Alvear went with his father on board another frigate, intending to return to their own ship, but before they did so the engagement commenced, and in the course of it, the frigate they had quitted blew up, when, with the exception of the father and son, every member of the family perished. During his residence in the Peninsula, young Alvear married a beautiful and accomplished Spanish lady, whom he took to Buenos Ayres in 1812. At the age of twenty-four, he was supreme director of the Argentine republic; but he soon lost the favour of the people. He is a man of remarkably quick, clear, and keen intellect; and although his education was neglected, he possesses the powers of eloquence in an eminent degree. His manners are frank, refined, and gentlemanly. He is highly popular with the army.

The pertinacity of the Emperor could be accounted for only on the supposition that he had been grossly deceived with regard to the real sentiments of the inhabitants of the Banda Oriental; and that, having incautiously expressed his determination, he was likely to attempt to retain the province, not only at a price far above its value, but at the risk of some re-actions that might render it a dearly purchased prize. Don Pedro is a very fine young man, generous and high-spirited; but perhaps his character would be seen to more advantage as King of Portugal than as Emperor of the Brazils; and it was not likely that he would condescend to receive a lesson from any other hand than that of dear-bought experience. One of his ministers made a faithful statement of the affairs of the Banda Oriental, in which he proved the impolicy of persevering in a war which had already absorbed a great portion of the resources of the empire. The minister was turned out of office, and it is not to be supposed that his majesty was often troubled with any opinions on a subject displeasing to the imperial ear.

By looking at the map, the river Plata seems to form a very excellent natural boundary to the Brazilian territory on the south; but the former south-western frontier is a far better one, for many reasons. Between it and the Banda Oriental is a breadth of country nearly desert, and very thinly peopled. On that side, Brazil offers no temptations to an invading force; whereas to extend the Brazilian empire, to the Plata and Uruguay, would be to invite attacks, those rivers affording so many facilities to hostile enterprise. Brazils and Buenos Ayres, brought into close contact, would possess the power of doing each other infinite mischief. In such case, who, on the one hand, would answer for the commercial prosperity of Buenos Ayres? or, on the other, for the stability of the imperial throne?

Notwithstanding the disinclination of the Buenos Ayrean population to peace, Rivadavia suffered himself to be persuaded by the British embassy, or rather circumstances obliged him, to send Dr. Don Manuel Garcia to Rio Janeiro to negotiate a treaty. In doing this, the learned doctor exceeded his instructions, and took upon himself to cede the Banda Oriental to the Brazils. The treaty was rejected by Rivadavia, and the rejection was approved by congress. The attempt to make peace on such terms inflamed the discontents which had been produced by the effects of the war. Rivadavia was blamed for the unaccountable conduct of Garcia, and lost ground in the public feeling, from that reason, as well as from the unpopularity of his manners. But the intrigues of the party of Garcia, who, it is said, was countenanced by the British minister, tended, more than any other cause, to produce discontent, and Rivadavia resigned, together with all his ministers. The congress was dissolved, and each of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata again governed itself, independent of the rest. In transactions with foreign powers, the government of the province of Buenos Ayres still represented the others, and they on the other hand furnished voluntary contingents, to assist in carrying on the war against Brazil. The patriot army was commanded by the brave General Lavalleja.

General Dorrego was the next governor of the province and city of Buenos Ayres. He is active, brave, clever, vivacious, and kind-hearted, but he is also of a hasty disposition. Did he but possess as much stability of character, and prudence of conduct, as he has courage and talent, he would be one of the first men of the republic.

Although Rivadavia is now living in retirement, at his country house, near Buenos Ayres, it is not unlikely that his useful talents will again place him in a situation to give his country the benefit of his experience; on which account the following particulars are added.

Don Bernardino Rivadavia was educated at the college of San Carlos, in his native city of Buenos Ayres. He was intended for the law, but never practised it. He married the daughter of the late Don Joaquin Pino, formerly viceroy of Buenos Ayres. In September, 1811, Rivadavia was appointed secretary to the junta of the revolutionary government. He was sent to England with General Belgrano, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation with Spain. Rivadavia proceeded to Madrid; but not succeeding in the object of his journey there, he went to Paris, where he resided for some time, and then came to London. He returned to Buenos Ayres, and was appointed secretary of state under the governor, Rodriguez. His important services are best seen in the detail given of his administration. In Rivadavia there is an affectation of superiority, and a hauteur exceedingly repulsive; but these are counterbalanced by a strength and capaciousness of mind, combined with a high degree of political courage, which places him far above every other South American who has yet appeared in the character of a statesman. He is as generally disliked personally as he is admired politically, and possesses as few personal friends as he does political enemies. His private character displays great purity of conduct, and those who are well acquainted with him say that even his haughty and forbidding manners gradually wear off on acquaintance; and that, when some progress has been made in his confidence, he is found to possess a rare union of mildness and energy, an ardent love of his country, a total absence of vindictive spirit, and the warmest attachment to his friends.

Having given an outline of the revolution, something perhaps should be said on the superior advantages which the Argentine republic possesses, in its geographical position; in the fertility of its soil; in the number and extent of its navigable rivers; in the benignity of its climate, and in the capabilities of its inhabitants.

The coast, which extends southward from Cape Santa Maria, in 33° south latitude, presents several bays, where good ports might be established: but the only point on the Atlantic occupied by the Argentines is that near the mouth of the Rio Negro, where a small colony has been formed, and a fort built, which serves as a rendezvous for privateers. The Brazilians made an unsuccessful attack upon this settlement, when their whole expedition, consisting of four vessels and seven hundred men, was captured; most of the men were either admitted into the service, or allowed to remain as colonists. Southward of the Rio Negro is the country occupied by the Patagonians, who are not remarkable for loftiness of stature, as some of the earlier navigators have asserted.

The provinces of the Rio de la Plata possess incalculable advantages. Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, the keys of the river Plata, and of considerable importance even at this moment, will become infinitely more valuable in the course of a few years. By means of the Uruguay, Paraná, Bermejo, Pilcomayo, Paraguay, and other great rivers, that send their waters to the "sea-like Plata," inland navigation can be carried on in almost every direction, even to some of the provinces lying at the very base of the Andes. In many parts of the Pampas, vegetation is so vigorous and rapid, that nothing seems to be wanting but industry, and the fostering security of peace, to render them equal in productiveness to any part of the world. In the province of San Juan, wheat yields a hundred-fold; Tucuman, San Juan, and Paraguay, produce timber of excellent quality; Mendoza, wines, brandy, and dried fruits; while the staple commodities, hides, tallow, jerked beef, horses and mules, are common to all the provinces, as well as minor articles of export, such as tiger skins, horns, ostrich feathers, otter skins,

&c. The temperature, generally speaking, may be compared to that of the south of Europe. The atmosphere is so clear, that in 1819 and 1824 the planet Venus was visible to the naked eye at noon-day. The Pampas are however occasionally subject to violent storms of thunder and lightning, accompanied by heavy rains. In some years, clouds of locusts arise from the Brazilian frontier, and fly towards the Andes, destroying vegetation wherever they alight. These destructive insects are a serious annoyance to the traveller. Sometimes they are in such numbers that, during a journey of several days, the air appears every where completely filled with them. The ground is also occasionally covered by them, and as they rise from it, on the traveller's approach, his face and eyes are frequently struck with violence by the locusts as they fly against him.

The Creole population of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata is principally of Andalusian parentage. The extreme vivacity of their imagination sufficiently bespeaks their descent. The educated people display a shrewdness and superiority of talent; and the most illiterate gaucho often makes a repartee as full of point as the sharpest sayings of his Andalusian ancestors, and possesses as much broad and naïve humour as any of the sons of Erin. Amongst the native dramatic productions is a farce called the *Gaucho;* written, it is true, in inelegant Spanish; but the dialogue sparkles with such flashes of genuine wit and discriminating humour, that if the Buenos Ayreans possessed a Liston or a Mathews, the untutored genius of the Creolean Aristophanes would not be hidden in obscurity. The rapid advances made by the Argentines in civilization have been ascribed principally to their unrestricted commerce with the British and other nations. A still closer intercourse has existed for ages, between England and Portugal, and yet Lisbon is not generally allowed to be *much farther advanced* in refinement than other great European cities. It is perhaps therefore more just to attribute Buenos Ayrean improvement to the amiability and intellectual quickness of the South American, who is also more free from religious and political bigotry than the inhabitants of most of the countries of Europe. With so many noble traits, we may readily excuse the gasconading vein which frequently characterizes the Buenos Ayrean, but which will doubtless wear off, when experience shall teach them that it is bad taste to indulge in so unbecoming and useless a propensity.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Buenos Ayres.—Scotch colony.—Miller embarks.—Monte Video.—General Lecor.—Rio Janeiro.—Dr. Corbacho.—Don Lucas Cotera.—Emperor.—Slave trade.—Bahia.—Pernambuco.—Dr. Don Tadeo Garate.—Conclusion.

On reaching Buenos Ayres, General Miller was greatly disappointed and grieved to learn that his worthy friend, Mr. Mackinlay, had left the city on account of ill health. He soon, however, returned; but the hand of death was visibly upon him, and in a few weeks, Miller had to mourn the loss of a generous-hearted and excellent friend. His amiable widow has since returned to Europe, and is now residing in Paris. Mr. W. Parish Robertson, who had married the eldest daughter of Mr. Mackinlay, conducted Miller to his own hospitable residence, where he remained during his stay in Buenos Ayres.

Miller spent six weeks in the delightful occupation of renewing friendships, formed on his first arrival in that country, and during the course of the war. Some old companions in arms had long before returned to Buenos Ayres. Amongst the latter, he had the satisfaction to find at the head of the executive government General Las Heras, to whom he was indebted for the first public favour which he received after joining the army of the Andes. During the retreat from Cancharayada (1818), Las Heras, immediately upon coming up with General San Martin at San Fernando, strongly recommended "the foreign captain," for he did not then know Miller's name, to the notice of the general-in-chief. This led to his subsequent promotion to the rank of major.

Colonel Don Juan Apostol Martinez, who will be remembered for his irreverent antipathy to cowled friars, Colonels Lavalle, Brandsen, and Olasabal, General Don Enrique Martinez, Miller's former colonel, and many other intimate friends, were also in Buenos Ayres at this time, and their society added greatly to the pleasure of his return. One morning after breakfast he was surprised by a call from his old acquaintance Major La Tapia, now lieutenant-colonel. He said that, "having heard of the war between Buenos Ayres and the Brazils, and there being no more *godos* on the other side of the Andes to fight against, he had obtained leave to offer his services to Buenos Ayres; for," added he, "I consider the Brazilians as first cousins to the Spaniards, and hate them accordingly:" then clapping his hands, and his eyes sparkling with enthusiasm, he continued, "and I long to have a slap at them!"

Brandsen had been obliged by Bolivar to quit Peru, in consequence of his having taken part with the Riva-Aguero faction in 1823. Upon this he went to Chile, and from thence, on the breaking out of the war, to Buenos Ayres, where his services were gladly accepted. He was one of the best cavalry officers in the liberating army, and was afterwards killed while fighting by the side of his friend Lavalle, who commanded the cavalry at the battle of Ituzaingo. Brandsen, a native of Paris, was a well-educated man, enthusiastic in the cause of freedom, and was sincerely esteemed for his amiable conduct and gentlemanly manners. He left a widow, a Peruvian lady, and two or three young children.

Lavalle was promoted to the rank of general for his conduct in the battle of Ituzaingo. He was afterwards severely wounded in a skirmish with the Brazilians.

The foreign officers who served in the army of the Andes, Chile, and Peru, were principally British, French, Germans, and North Americans. But, in spite of this mixture of nations, the very best understanding always existed amongst them. There were never more than about twenty serving at the same time, and between the years 1817 and 1825, the total number who had served did not exceed forty-eight. Of these, eighteen have been killed, or lost at sea. Of the survivors, twelve had been wounded.

While Miller remained at Buenos Ayres, the granaderos à caballo entered the city. Out of six hundred men, only seven were remaining of those originally raised by San Martin, when he formed the regiment in 1812.

A few days after Miller's arrival, he called upon Don Andres Hidalgo, whom Miller accompanied to the Pampas, on the borders of Patagonia, in 1817. Don Andres was now building a large house in the city, having cleared ninety thousand dollars by the sale of the *estancia* of Mariancul, the same at which he had entertained his friends, and which then was not, at the most, worth more than a twentieth part of that sum.

From his early friend, Don Miguel Riglos, he experienced the kindest attention, as well as from Colonel Escalada, and Don José Maria Nadal. The British merchants resident at Buenos Ayres gave a dinner at Faunch's hotel, to welcome Miller on his return. At the time the party was assembled, an action commenced between the Buenos Ayrean flotilla and the Brazilian squadron in the outer roads, and dinner was postponed, that the party might witness the fight from the *azotea*, or flat roof, of the hotel. The firing continued for some time; Brown conducted his little flotilla in the most gallant style, and beat off the imperialists with considerable loss. By the time the cloth was removed, an account was brought on shore of the result of the action, and the intrepid admiral's health was drank with loud huzzas.

Five leagues south of Buenos Ayres is Monte Grande, a very extensive wood of peach-trees, planted ten years before by Mr. Barton. Near this, a Scotch colony, of about a hundred individuals, sent out by Mr. John Parish Robertson and Mr. Thomas Kinder, were settled, on five farms. Miller accompanied the Reverend Mr. Armstrong, who went there to baptize a dozen or fifteen children, born subsequently to the arrival of the settlers. A grand christening dinner was given, at which every colonist sat down, and a *merrier* party has seldom assembled. The colony is also, in other respects, in a very thriving condition. It is now under the immediate superintendence of Mr. John Parish Robertson, whose talents, local knowledge, and disposition, qualify him to become the William Penn of the Pampas.

On the 14th March, 1826, Miller embarked for England. He was accompanied to the beach by a number of his personal friends. Upon taking leave of them, he was quite overcome by his feelings. The recollection of the many vicissitudes which he had encountered since his landing upon the same spot, eight years before, an isolated stranger, a mere volunteer in the cause of independence; the scenes which he had gone through, so important, so novel, and so exciting; the success which had attended his career, and the numerous friendships which had been cemented by the most binding of all ties, identity of cause and feeling; the separation from a country in which he had acquired a name, and to which he owed so much; all rushed at once upon his mind, and deprived him of the power of going through the painful ordeal of a farewell. To add to his embarrassment, two men, who had served with him in Chile and Peru during the whole of his campaigns, one of whom, Pedro Valenzuela, was the identical soldier who carried him off wounded from the field at Pisco; the other, a faithful and affectionate African*; —these two men had come to the beach for the purpose of witnessing his embarkation; but such was the emotion that overpowered them, that neither could utter a word. They embraced the General, and burst into tears.

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* Ybañes was the son of an African prince, and was about sixteen years of age when he was carried off, and sold as a slave at Buenos Ayres. A few years after this he was made a soldier, and thus became entitled to his freedom. He was one of the small part who accompanied General San Martin to Mendoza in 1816. General Miller took Ybañes from the grenadier company of the battalion No. 8. of the army of the Andes, and employed him for nearly seven years. He had gained five medals for distinguished acts of bravery in the field. As a servant, he was steady, assiduous, and punctiliously honest. He often said that the highest object of his ambition was to accompany his master, so long as he remained in the country, and then to become a *pulpero*, or little shopkeeper, in Buenos Ayres. Fortune gratified his wishes, and his faithful servant is now comfortably established in his favourite city.

By a singular coincidence, Mr. William Jackson, an English merchant, well known for his goodness of heart and excellence of character, who left England in the same vessel with Miller, in 1817, was now a passenger on board the packet in which he left Buenos Ayres. In proceeding down the river, the packet touched, as usual, at Monte Video. Miller landed there, rather contrary to the kind cautions of Captain Sir John Sinclair, commanding H. M. S. Doris. He was, however, treated by the Brazilian General Lecor, and his young and beautiful wife, with polite attention.

The garrison of Monte Video consisted of four or five thousand men, all exceedingly well disciplined, and in a very efficient state. Nevertheless, a few gaucho parties, hovering in the neighbourhood, were sufficient to keep the garrison within the walls. Many of the Oriental chiefs had families residing in Monte Video. To save them from the sufferings of famine, and to raise money at the same time, they permitted the introduction of cattle, and other supplies, on the imperialists paying a certain tax. This fact shows with sufficient clearness the real sentiments of the Orientales, and the slippery tenure by which the Emperor holds the Banda Oriental. To describe the measures adopted by the gauchos to shut up the imperialists within the walls of Colonia and Monte Video, would be to repeat what has been already said of gaucho warfare. The policy of Lecor, in promoting intermarriages, has produced an effect exactly the reverse of that intended. The native wives soon made proselytes of their husbands, who, whether officers or private soldiers, became objects of distrust with the government of Rio Janeiro. A want of confidence was shown even towards Lecor, who is a most worthy man; and he would probably have been removed, if the Emperor could have found a successor of equal talent and merit.

Captain de la Susse, of the French navy, an exceedingly clever and agreeable man, whose acquaintance Miller had the happiness to make at Buenos Ayres, came in the same packet, and was on his return to Europe from a political mission in Chile. He introduced Miller to Captain Mamignau of the French brig of war Le Cygne, who very courteously invited him to take a passage on board his vessel to Rio Janeiro, which he accepted, as he was desirous of seeing that city on his way home. They sailed on the 21st of March, and arrived at Rio Janeiro on the 29th, having made as pleasant a voyage as fine weather, a good table, and the excellent society of many gentlemanly and attentive French officers, could render it. The ship's company were nearly all natives of St. Maloes, and were in a state of discipline which reflected great credit upon the excellent commander and his officers.

Miller remained six weeks in the Brazilian capital, and was hospitably entertained at the house of his friends Mr. and Mrs. Le Breton. He received, also, the most polite attention from Sir Charles Stuart, and from Mr. (now Sir Henry) Chamberlayne, the British chargé d'affaires.

On the day after Miller's arrival at Rio

Janeiro, he had the pleasure of meeting his valued friend, Dr. Corbacho. This gentleman, who possesses considerable poetical talent, and is celebrated for an early display of patriotism, was secretary to General Otéro, prefect of Arequipa, shortly after the battle of Ayacucho; but it having been reported that he had spoken disrespectfully of the Colombians, he was one night torn from his family, and, without even the shadow of a trial, sent on board a ship destined to convey a number of Spaniards to Cadiz, in pursuance of the capitulation. Corbacho stated, with tears in his eyes, that what he felt most cuttingly, was the being pent up in a vessel crowded with persons who had always been his avowed enemies. During the voyage, they never ceased to taunt him with being a patriot; and he must have sunk under this continued persecution, but for the interposition of two or three individuals, who generously espoused his quarrel, and screened him, as much as they could, from the revilings of their narrow-minded countrymen. Fortunately for Corbacho, the vessel was obliged to put into Rio Janeiro, where he was enabled to escape from his tormentors. When he set foot on shore he was without a farthing in his pocket, and had not, as he imagined, a single friend in the Brazils; but, to his great astonishment and boundless joy, within a few hours of his landing, he accidentally met an old friend, Don Lucas Cotéra, a wealthy and honourable Spanish merchant, who had resided for many years in Peru, and whose character for liberality, whether to patriots or royalists, is universally known. Cotéra had retired from Peru in consequence of the reverses of the royalists; and although his fortune had been severely shattered, still, with the remnant of it, he entirely supported Corbacho, and upwards of twenty pennyless exiles, both Spanish and Peruvian, for which purpose he had taken a spacious house, where they all resided. Miller frequently visited this interesting party, where he was always welcomed with the warmest expressions of regard. Amongst them was the distinguished Spaniard, Colonel Soenes, who, in consequence of being a determined constitutionalist, was unable to return to Spain; but whose punctilious feelings prevented him from accepting service in the Peruvian army, against which he had fought with perseverance and ability. At the time Pezuela was deposed, Soenes was despatched to Spain, as the representative of the new viceroy, La Serna. On his arrival, he found the constitutional government established, with which he immediately sided, and was appointed to an important military command. Upon the downfal of the constitution, in 1823, Soenes was placed on the list of the proscribed, and obliged to fly. Desirous of rejoining La Serna, he embarked for Rio Janeiro, where, learning that the whole of the coast of the Pacific was in the hands of the patriots, he undertook the journey by land, and traversed the immense empire of the Brazils. Just before he reached the Peruvian frontier, he had not only the mortification to hear of the battle of Ayacucho, but also to learn that the intervening districts of Upper Peru were occupied by his rancorous enemy, Olañeta. Unwilling to retrace his steps, he remained in the province of Matogrosso until the death of Olañeta, when he proceeded to the patriot head-quarters, and was allowed to consider himself as included in the capitulation: he again quitted the country by sea, and came back to Rio Janeiro. General Miller strongly recommended these exiles to return immediately to Peru, assuring Corbacho that Colombian influence was on the wane, and that he need not be under any apprehensions for his personal safety. Miller furnished him with letters, strongly recommending him to the consideration and protection of General La Mar, who, it is satisfactory to add, upon being re-elected to the presidency, appointed Dr. Corbacho one of the ministers of the departmental courts of justice at Arequipa.

Miller had passed a few days in Rio Janeiro, when the Emperor returned from Bahia, where he had been to repress the efforts of faction. His majesty went in procession from the landing-place to the palace, accompanied by the Empress, the Princess Maria da Gloria, and a long train of courtiers, nobility, and naval and military officers. There were more general officers than could be required for an army of 100,000 men; and these were bedizened with more decorations than all the French generals who accompanied Napoleon in his last campaigns. And yet, from this multitude, the Emperor could not, it was said, select one efficient commander for the southern or northern provinces*. The regular forces in the capital amounted to about 3500 men. About a third of this number was composed of Austrians, Swiss, and other foreigners, who, though sent from their own countries in the character of settlers, had been compelled to serve in the army. Upon these no great reliance could be placed. The regular army, not in the capital, might amount to ten or twelve thousand. There was a remarkable difference between the foreign seamen in the service of the Argentine republic and those in that of the Emperor. The former were enthusiastic, and eager to engage; whilst the latter showed an indifference to the cause for which they served, and were discontented, although better and more regularly paid than the republicans. A militia force in every province of the empire was assembled periodically, and intended only for local defence, or to guard against risings of the black population.

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* In the month of August, 1828, peace was happily concluded between the Brazils and Buenos Ayres. The Emperor has had the good sense to see, that

In Brazil the slave trade is seen in some of its most revolting aspects; for there the general treatment of negro slaves is barbarous in the extreme. About thirty thousand are annually imported into Rio Janeiro alone, and perhaps an equal number in the other ports of the empire. One of the many abhorrent circumstances attending this nefarious traffic is, that, upon a vessel's arriving near the port, such

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the interests of his country required that he should discontinue a war, which, from the commencement, was unjust; and had not only exhausted the finances of his empire, but had spread discontent and disaffection throughout the provinces, from the cruel manner in which the raising levies for the army was conducted. Perhaps the state of his affairs in Europe may have had some little influence in hastening Don Pedro's decision on this subject. The Brazils possess immense natural resources, all they require is a wise and vigorous development, and this they may expect at the hands of Don Pedro, who has already, and of his own free will, given them a constitutional government, and whose liberal mind appears to be constantly studious for the welfare of his people.

slaves, as appear to be in an irrecoverable state of disease, are frequently thrown into the sea! This is done merely to evade the payment of the custom-house duty, which is levied upon every slave brought into port. Instances have occurred of their being picked up alive by coasting vessels!

Fourteen or fifteen slave ships, with full cargoes, arrived at Rio Janeiro during the six weeks that Miller remained there. One morning that he happened to breakfast on board a Brazilian frigate, the commander, Captain Sheppard, kindly lent him a boat to visit a slaver, of 320 tons, which had come into port the preceding night. The master, supposing him to be in the imperial service, was extremely attentive, and very readily answered every inquiry. He said the homeward-bound passage had been tolerably fortunate, only seventy-two deaths having occurred in the cargo; and that, although thirty of the sick were then in an unsaleable plight, the owners might calculate upon sending into the market four hundred sound and well-grown Africans; a number that would yield a handsome profit.

After some further conversation, Miller requested permission to see the 'tween decks, upon which the master accompanied him below, and pointed out the manner of securing his cargo, which was by shackling each negro by one leg to an iron bar running a midships from stem to stern, so as to form a double row, lying feet to feet. The air was so oppressively nauseating, that Miller could not remain below for more than two minutes. There was hardly a slave in the whole number who was free from festering sores, produced by constant friction from lying on the hard and unwashed decks. Some of them were bruised so dreadfully, that it was wonderful that they continued to exist. Their emaciated appearance might have led to the supposition that they had been nearly starved during the passage, did not the varied miseries to which they were subjected, sufficiently account for their fleshless forms. A great number of them were now upon deck, and clad in long woollen shirts, in order to be sent to the warehouses on shore. Miller, heartily sick of this disgusting scene, took leave of the master; but, unable to control the indignation he felt, he inveighed with great bitterness against all wretches concerned in so iniquitous a traffic, letting him know at the same time that he was not in the service of the Emperor. The master, though at first taken aback by the violence of the General's invectives, soon recovered himself, and retorted in the most insolent terms of defiance, abusing the English for meddling in what he styled the legitimate commerce of Brazil. The state of the vessel was such as cannot be described, and the fetid effluvia, arising from it, offended the senses on approaching her within fifty yards. Although Miller took a warm bath immediately upon getting on shore, the stench of the slave ship haunted his nostrils for many days.

There is a long narrow street in Rio Janeiro exclusively appropriated to the negro stores. It is, in fact, the slave-bazaar. The fronts of the shops are open, and the objects for sale are seated on benches, where, strange to say, they often pass their time in singing. People wishing to become purchasers lounge up and down until they see a subject likely to suit their purpose. Miller one day put on a broad-brimmed straw hat, and walked into several of the stores, as if with a view of making a purchase. The slave venders came forward with eagerness to show off their stock, making their bipeds move about in every way best calculated to display their good points, and in much the same manner that a jockey does in showing off a horse. Those who appeared to be drowsy were made to bite a piece of ginger, or take a pinch of snuff. If these excitements did not prove sufficient to give them an air of briskness, they were wakened up by a pull of the ear, or a slap on the face, which made them look about them. Miller was so inquisitive, and his observations were so unlike those of a *bona fide* purchaser, that the dealers soon began to suspect he did not intend to be a customer. One of them being in consequence rather pert in his replies, Miller once more allowed his indignation to get the better of his judgment, and he abused the fellow in terms more violent, if possible, than those he had addressed to the master of the slave ship. He had some difficulty to avoid getting into a very serious squabble, as many of the other dealers came out and joined in the yell now raised against him. As he passed along the street, it was like running the gauntlet; for he was saluted by vituperations on all sides, and it was perhaps only by preserving a menacing attitude in his retreat that he prevented something more than a mere war of words. They dwelt with marked emphasis on the officious English, who, instead of attending to their own affairs, would not, they said, allow other people to gain an honest livelihood.

Miller left Rio Janeiro, in the Marchioness of Salisbury packet, for England. They touched at Bahia and Pernambuco, both very fine and opulent cities, founded by the Dutch, and which bear testimony to the industry and ingenuity of that persevering people. The spacious streets, and the manner in which the old town of Pernambuco was built by the Dutch, is clear evidence of the superiority of their taste over that of the Portuguese, which is well contrasted by a division which has been added to the city by the latter. Miller dined with the governor, who politely furnished him with horses and an orderly, that he might visit the convent of San Francisco, at Olinda, the easternmost point of land in South America. This convent is celebrated for the richness of its ceilings, which are in the Moorish style of workmanship; it was founded previous to the taking of Pernambuco by the Dutch, in 1625. In 1630 they abandoned the port, filling up the entrance across the bar, or reef. The friars at the convent are extremely obliging to visitors.

Amongst the passengers on board the packet was Don Tadeo Garate, the last royalist governor of the department of Puno, and the immediate predecessor of Miller, who was the first appointed by the patriots. It was singular that these two individuals should have been brought together as messmates on board the same vessel.

Garate, who has before been mentioned in these memoirs, is a native of La Paz, or Chuquiago as it is called by the aborigines. He is about fifty years of age, of middle stature, though rather taller than the generality of the Cholos, or mixed Indian race, to which he belongs. He stoops considerably; his eyes are dark, and small, like those of a Chinese; his hair is black, coarse, and shining; but, like most Indians, he has little beard; the general expression of his countenance is of a most sinister description. He was educated in the college of San Antonio, at Cuzco, and was so remarkable for close application to his studies, that he was called "el Cholito aplicado," or "the hard-working little Indian." Becoming an advocate, Garate displayed great professional acuteness, vigour of imagination, and an easy style of oratory; which obtained him numerous clients, and enabled him to live in a very independent manner. He soon evinced an ambitious and ostentatious spirit, wore hair powder, and affected, in his dress, colours not usually worn at Cuzco. As a literary character, he was a constant visitor at the palace of the bishop, to whom he afterwards became secretary, and eventually so great a favourite, that the bishop acted only by his advice. In dispensing episcopal patronage, the new secretary displayed, to those who were his suitors, the greatest haughtiness of disposition. He was next appointed sub-delegate of Chucuito, and afterwards elected a deputy to serve in the cortes of Spain, to which, soon after his arrival in the Peninsula, he was chosen secretary. He was the author of the famous address to Ferdinand VII., which gained for those who signed it the party *sobriquet* of "Persians." He acted also as a spy upon the other

American deputies, and the servility of Garate was rewarded by the king with the valuable appointment of governor of Puno; upon which he returned to Peru.

It would appear that the mind and disposition of Garate had been wrongly directed, or perverted, at the commencement of his career, by monkish bigotry and scholastic prejudices. All his actions, his manners, and his very looks, indicated that he was a stranger to every liberal or manly feeling. He is a melancholy instance of the demoralizing effects of habitual servility. Accustomed from his youth to cringe and fawn, whoever was in power was certain of his support. He was alternately the humble slave of Pezuela, of La Serna, and of Olañeta, and to each he was an active, able, and willing instrument in the execution of oppressive measures. In some respects he was always consistent; he never professed to be a patriot, and he never ceased to persecute his countrymen. At length, contemned by all parties, he was now a wanderer towards Spain, his only hope being in the favour of Ferdinand. He had left at Cuzco a most amiable wife, and a very charming daughter. As Garate did not speak English or French, Miller, commiserating his situation, often conversed with him, and desired his servant José, a Spaniard, to wait upon Garate. They were therefore tolerably sociable, until one day a discussion arose at table as to the character of the Irish peasantry, and in which Miller had to combat the arguments of nearly all his fellow passengers. Although Garate could not distinctly understand the whole of the question, he clearly perceived that his patriot opponent was in the minority; upon which his natural propensity to side with the strongest irresistibly broke forth. He did not merely confine himself to the point in debate, but said that Miller, being an insurgent himself, was a fit advocate for what he called "the insurgents of Ireland." Warmed by his subject, and encouraged by an appearance of support from the party whose cause he seconded, he went on boastingly to say, "that the time would soon arrive when he should return to Peru, with thousands of the king's troops, and have it in his power to gratify his dearest wish, the extermination of all rebels and traitors." During his furious harangue, Garate was a fit study for a painter. Malignity, envy, rage, revenge, and insolence, were severally depicted in his countenance. In consideration of his forlorn situation, Miller allowed him to go extraordinary lengths; but finding that his forbearance only increased the other's virulence, he thought it time to arrest his oratory, by giving him a mild but determined hint, that if he proceeded one step farther, nothing should save him from that species of castigation to which his scurrility had already so richly entitled him. Garate became instantly speechless, and slunk away. After this they were never cordial, although they still occasionally entered into conversation.

Garate was constantly complaining of his poverty, and described himself to be an utterly ruined man. He protested, by all that was sacred, that a forced contribution of twenty thousand dollars, which Bolivar had levied upon him at Arequipa, had swept away his last rial. Indeed, so circumstantially did he appear to prove all this, that Miller at last began to credit the story, although facts which he had been made acquainted with, when prefect of Puno, were in direct opposition to it.

After landing at Falmouth, Miller was surprised by his servant José's requesting permission to return to the packet, to see Don Tadeo Garate, who was represented to be in some serious dilemma. It turned out that José and Don Tadeo had already made two trips, and that on both occasions they had crammed their pockets with doubloons, the property of the latter. While Garate was on shore the second time, the steward of the packet accidentally discovered some bars of gold stowed away under Garate's mattress, which he took and carefully locked up, reporting the circumstance to the commander. When Don Tadeo returned on board, he immediately missed his treasure, and not speaking a word of English, he was unable to make any inquiries after it. He became almost frantic, and paced the deck in an agony of despair. José was sent for, the whole of the circumstances were explained to Miller, who arranged the matter for Garate. As the latter had artfully concealed the property to evade the payment of the freight, the captain refused to give it up until the regulated per centage should be paid. Garate was obliged to accede to these terms, and the treasure was restored to him. It amounted in value to upwards of thirty thousand dollars. Garate was lately living in Paris.

Miller landed at Falmouth on the 6th of July, 1826, being eight years and eleven months after his departure from the Downs.

Miller has been received by his friends, neighbours, and countrymen, in the kindest possible manner. The corporation of Canterbury has conferred upon him the freedom of that ancient city. The United Service, and the Travellers' Club, elected him an honorary member. At Milan he was entertained with the utmost courtesy by some generals and other officers of the Austrian army, and he has been treated with marked attention in Paris, Florence, Rome, Amsterdam, Brussels, and other parts of the continent of Europe, where he has had an opportunity of creating many friends to the cause of South American independence.

We shall close this work with an extract from a letter to the author, written in 1826 by a British naval officer who has served on the South American station.

"Such," says this distinguished officer, "has been the career of a young man, who, fired by the love of liberty, embarked in the struggle for the independence of nations; and who, unsupported by connexion or interest, and steering a steady course through the storms of war and commotions of faction, has raised himself, by his own merit, to the highest rank in the army; obtained every honorary distinction; filled important civil situations; and, covered with honourable wounds, has now revisited his native country with a character of perfect disinterestedness, and a conscience void of reproach; and whom, to borrow an expression of General Bolivar, 'South America will always claim as one of her most glorious sons.'"

APPENDIX.

(G.)

(Page 30.)

An intercepted Letter from General Canterac.

"The enemy, despairing of being able to obtain any advantage from their ill-organized expedition, continue in the most miserable condition, with a dreadful mortality, in Arica, having detached part of their force, consisting of about 800 men, with Colonel Miller, evidently for the purpose of collecting provisions and resources for Alvarado's dispirited troops, which are kept in check by Brigadier Valdes, who occupies Tacna, and the neighbouring *quebradas;* and as the said general leaves them nothing along the whole line of coast that can be of service to them, they have been reduced to a state of the greatest weakness and distress. On these grounds, it is presumed they will abandon Arica, and descend along the coast, for the purpose of ascertaining whether Miller can render them any assistance. Of Miller's troops, there disembarked at Quilca, and marched on to Camana, 200 men; and it is said that as many more were about to disembark at the Planchada of Ocoña: and so soon as this takes place, or that the troops at Camana proceed along the coast, it is of the utmost importance to leave the whole of it without supplies of any sort: for which purpose it is indispensable that all the cattle, horses, provisions, &c. should be collected in one point; and the moment the vessels appear in sight, or that any attempt is made to march by land from Ocoña, you will be pleased to retreat with all the supplies, &c. to this side of the Cordillera; as it is possible the enemy may resolve to penetrate in this direction towards the Sierra, in which event their destruction is inevitable. To the commanding officer of the battalion of cazadores I give instructions in the accompanying despatch, to hold himself at your disposal, so as immediately to march to Acari with the corps under his command, that he may assist in carrying away every thing, and check the advance of the enemy. You will therefore take care to furnish him with horses, mules, &c. such as can be got in that neighbourhood, for mounting one or two companies, who will be more useful in rendering the service required.

" You will have to exercise great vigilance and extraordinary activity on every part of the coast; bearing in mind, that the weak and distressed condition of the enemy is entirely to be attributed to the efficient and energetic dispositions made by Brigadier Valdes along the whole line of coast of Arequipa; and I promise myself your exertions will be attended with equal success.

" Advices, in duplicate, or triplicate if necessary, relating to all matters, but principally to the appearance of vessels off the coast, disembarkation of troops, and their movements, you will of course forward from time to time, by persons in whom full confidence can be placed, and well mounted, addressed to his excellency the viceroy, if direct; to Brigadier Loriga, by Cordova; to the commandant-general of the central division; and to me, through the military governor of Chuquibamba; attending to this object with all your well known zeal and decision, as upon these advices the success of our operations must mainly depend.

" God preserve you many years.

" Head-quarters, Puno, 31st December, 1822.

(Signed) " JOSE CANTERAC."

" To Colonel D. Juan Ant. de Olachea, commanding
on the coast."

(H.)

(Page 42.)

An intercepted circular Letter addressed to Colonel Olachea, from Colonel Carratalá.

" I repeat to you, that Miller's expedition consists of one vessel, and that only 100 infantry have disembarked: it is therefore very easy to defeat him, should he advance along the coast, by uniting the different corps that protect those districts, which you will accordingly arrange with the officers in command.

"God preserve you many years.

"Arequipa, 19th January, 1823.

(Signed) "JOSÉ CARRATALA.

"To Colonel D. Juan Ant. Olachea."

A fictitious Letter sent instead of the foregoing.

"I have to inform you that Miller's expedition has been reinforced by 600 blacks of the battalion No. 4. It will therefore be incumbent to take all necessary steps for preventing any disaster.

"I have also to state that it has come to my knowledge that the said officer is endeavouring to seduce the soldiers of your party; and that he is in secret communication with some of the officers. You will be pleased to be vigilant, and punish offenders with the utmost rigour of the law.

"God preserve you many years.

"Arequipa, 20th January, 1823.

(Signed) "JOSÉ CARRATALA.

"To Colonel D. Juan Ant. Olachea."

(I.)

(Page 42.)

Letter from Manzanedo to the Alcalde of Pullo.

"'*Battalion of Coracora.*

"'It is of the greatest consequence that the fair of Chaipi, usually held on Candlemas-day, should not be allowed to take place, on account of the disadvantages that may result from the assemblage of so many persons; and especially of those arriving with numbers of horses and loaded mules, which is exactly what the enemy most stand in need of, and which they use every endeavour to obtain. I understand that they have landed at Atico, and their views being, of course, upon Carabeli, Chaparra, Chala, and Yauca, and thence towards these heights, it is therefore necessary, that, immediately on receiving this order, the merchants who have gone on to Chaipi, should be desired to withdraw, with all their property and animals, from the parish of Chaipi, towards the town of Coracora, as well as those who may have arrived with you, and not to permit them to advance a single step, upon any pretence whatever, and this under the severest penalty. You will be held responsible for the slightest deviation in the execution of this order, relying upon your well-known zeal for its strict fulfilment; and if, by any omission, the passage of any traders should be allowed, and they should have the misfortune to be surprised by any party of the enemy, that your neglect will be visited with the rigour of the laws of war. You will advise me without loss of time of having received this order, and you will give it all the effect which I flatter myself you will, from your devotion to the national cause, from which a general good would result to all the inhabitants of this district.

" 'God preserve you many years.

" 'MANUEL DE MANZANEDO.

" 'Coracora, Jan. 29, 1823.

" 'To Don Bernardino Chaves, constitutional
alcalde of the parish of Pullo.'

" I have transcribed thus much, which has just been sent to me by Colonel Don Manuel Manzanedo; and being informed of it, you will execute what he orders, and acknowledge receipt of it to me.

" God preserve you many years.

" BERN. CHAVES.

" Pullo, Jan. 30, 1823; nine o'clock in the morning of this day.

" To the constitutional alcalde of Chaipi,
Don Bern. Rodriguez.

" P. S. For the more speedy execution of what is herein contained, you must endeavour to procure the assistance of the military power, and of the worthy inhabitants of your parish."

(K.)

(Page 43.)

Letter from Colonel Manzanedo to Colonel Barrandalla.

"Under this date, I have transmitted to his excellency, the Viceroy of the kingdom, the following report:

'Most excellent Sir,

'A confidential spy has informed me, under date of the 27th ultimo, as follows: 'I beg to inform you, that the Englishman, Miller, has landed at this port, and brings two vessels: to-morrow he will disembark the battalion of negroes, amounting to 600, with the intention, as I am informed, of proceeding to Coracora. From Ica they write, that the chief, Brandsen, had entered there, after our troops had retreated. From Acari they state, that they have already 250 hussars, and that they will reach this place in two days. The Peruvian legion, which is the battalion that belongs to this Englishman, is in garrisons from Ocoña to Atico, where there are about 600 in readiness to march also upon Coracora.'—I transcribe this to your excellency, for your more exact information; and although this intelligence appears to me very exaggerated, I have increased the number of spies, to obtain exact information as to the real force of the enemy, and have instructed the subdelegado of the district to observe his flank from the capital to Carabeli, and to withdraw, as speedily as possible, whatever cattle and animals of every description that may be on the heights in that part, as I am now doing towards the north, from Chaipi, Pullo, and all the country thereabouts, where I have sixty men under confidential officers. The day before yesterday my second in command returned from the hills of Carabeli with the three companies under his orders, after having ascertained that there was in Carabeli only a party of one captain and twenty-five men, mounted, who fled the moment they heard of the approach of our troops; but they returned, and re-occupied that place so soon as they heard that our three companies had withdrawn. As the subdelegate of Lucanas has not said any thing to me of the central division which occupied Ica having retreated, I suppose this intelligence must be false, as they must have known it from Palpa or Nasca, and independently of the intelligence which the commandant of the former place would, no doubt, have sent, on seeing himself obliged to make a retrograde movement. A spy has this moment arrived, and he assures me, that the enemy had penetrated inwards from Atiquipa to Quebrada de Chala, to the number of 450; besides several parties which have spread in different directions, and which ought to arrive to-day at the village of Chaipi, in the vicinity of which are the sixty men of my battalion, and respecting which the said spy spoke to the captain, informing him of these occurrences. I expect every moment to receive fresh intelligence, which I will communicate to your excellency, if it is worth consideration, and forward this to you in duplicate, through the military commandant of Andaguaylas, and the subdelegate Luna. I also send this to him, and to the military commandant of Chuquibamba. The same step was taken with the subdelegate Lucanas, and the commandant-general of the central division, Brigadier-general Loriga, and the chiefs of Huancabeliva and Guamanga. I must advise your excellency, that, up to this date, the cartridges and other articles sent by Andaguaylas to the subdivision of Lucanas, have not arrived, and I have only received three boxes of Spanish cartridges, very much damaged, which have been sent me by the subdelegate Luna.'

" I copy the above for your information, in order that you may regulate your steps accordingly, and shall continue to keep you advised of whatever may occur.'

" God preserve you many years.

" MANUEL DE MANZANEDO.

" Coracora, Feb. 1, 1823.

" To Don Tomas Barrandalla, commandant-general of
the central division at Ica.

" P. S. It is confirmed that Miller's division has been reinforced with 600 negroes of the regiment No. 4, and that the main body remains posted in Atiquipa, and its vicinity, independent of scattered detachments."

(L.)

(Page 46.)

Letter from Colonel Miller to Colonel Brandsen.

" *Acari, 23d February,* 1823.

" Sir,

" I have 300 head of oxen, and about 200 horses and mules at the distance of half a dozen leagues from this. They will march for Ica the moment you think it worth your while to attack el Sr. Barrandalla, who is trembling with 340 men in the vicinity of Molinos. Unless, indeed, you advance to Ica, all the cattle will undoubtedly be lost, as well as other advantages of a much more important nature.

" The enemy has entered Carabeli, but he is timid and afraid to attack me. Manzanedo cannot persuade himself but that I have at least two battalions.

" In Lucanas Aballe has not more than thirty men, but this old gentleman is more active than the rest, and he finds out more particulars relative to my operations and force than any of the rest. Much might be done if you would advance in this direction. If you lose time, disagreeable may be the consequences.

" There is nothing to be feared from Carratalá; even provided he has left Arequipa for Chuquibamba, he will be detained by the rivers, for I have had two important bridges and many balsas destroyed. If I had only fifty cavalry, the whole battalion of cazadores (600) would have been mine long ago.

" Captain Valdivia and twelve soldiers of my regiment, accompanied by some people of the country as volunteers, made an incursion to Palpa, and on the 21st put to flight Colonel Olachea, whom they fell in with near Nasca. The latter had fifty armed militia and four soldiers of the line, with an officer. Sixteen of the militia were made prisoners, two of the regulars were killed, and the other two, with an ensign, were also taken. Olachea escaped. His baggage, as well as that of the subdelegate, Rivero, fell into our hands, amongst which is very interesting correspondence. A Spaniard, by the name of Muñoz, and an American, called Garcia (the owner of Chocovento), inhabitants of Nasca, have done us much mischief. They employ spies and give Barrandalla correct information.

"Once more I repeat, that whatever may be the intention of government, whatever may be your military plans, it is of the very first importance that you drive Barrandalla from Ica, and open a communication with me, and the provinces of Parinacochas and Lucanas, whose inhabitants are all ready to rise. If this be done immediately, much may be expected; if not, I foresee nothing but ruination, and we shall even deserve it for our apathy. What a pity that the topography of the country is not better known by those who direct the movements of the army!

"Send this original to the minister of war, if you please. I write in English in case the letter should be intercepted, of which however there is little chance, for all the communications I have sent by land to Lima have been received, and I have got answers by the same way.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. MILLER.

"To Colonel Brandsen, commanding at Cañete."

(M.)

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Act of Installation of the Second Congress of Venezuela.

In the city of St. Thomas of Angostura, on the fifteenth day of the month of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Nineteen, ninth of the Independence of Venezuela, at half-past ten in the morning, were assembled, in virtue of a summons of the supreme chief of the republic, Simon Bolivar, in the Government Palace, for the installation of the sovereign national congress, convoked by the said supreme chief on the twenty-second day of October last, the deputies, of whom the names are as follows, viz:

Nominated by the free part of Venezuela.

For the province of Caracas:

Doctor Juan German Roscio.
Doctor Luis Tomas Peraza.
Licentiate José España.
Mr. Onofre Basalo.
Mr. Francisco Antonio Zea.

For the province of Barcelona:

Colonel Francisco Parejo.
Colonel P. Eduardo Hurtado.
Licentiate Diego Bautista Urbaneja.
Licentiate Ramon Garcia Cádiz.
Mr. Diego Antonio Alcalá.

For the province of Cumana:

General-in-chief, Santiago Mariño.
Brigadier-Gen. Tomas Montilla.
Doctor Juan Martinez.
Colonel Diego Vallenilla.

For the province of Barinas:

Dr. Ramon Ignacio Mendez.
Colonel Miguel Guerrero.
General-of-division, R. Urdaneta.
Dr. Antonio Maria Brizeño.

For the province of Guayana:

Mr. Eusebio Afanador.
Mr. Juan Vicente Cardozo.
Intendant of the army, F. Peñalver.
Brigadier-General P. L. Torres.

For the province of Margarita:

Licentiate Gaspar Marcano.
Doctor Manuel Palacio.
Licentiate Domingo Alzura.
Mr. José de Jesus Guevara.

And although there were wanting four deputies to complete the thirty, of which the congress ought to consist, the installation, in virtue of the rule of convocation, by which the presence of only two-thirds of the representatives is required, was proceeded in with the following formalities and ceremonies:

At eleven, the firing of three cannon announced the coming of the supreme chief, accompanied by his staff, the governor of the place, the commandant of the province, and all the chiefs and officers in this city. The deputies went out to receive his excellency without the gates of the palace, and, conducting him to the hall set apart for their sittings, placed him in the chair under the national canopy. The concourse of citizens and foreigners of distinction was immense.

The supreme chief opened the session with reading a long speech, the chief object of which was to explain the fundamental principles of the project of a constitution he presented to the congress, and to show that it was the best adapted to our country. He spoke very briefly of his own administration under the most difficult circumstances, intimating that the secretaries of state would give an account of their respective departments, and exhibit the documents necessary for illustrating the real and actual state of the republic, and only enlarged when recommending to the congress the confirmation of the liberty granted to the slaves, without any restriction whatever, the institution of the Order of Liberators, and the law for the division of the national property amongst the defenders of the country, as the only reward for their heroic services. He likewise charged the congress in the most particular manner to turn its serious attention to the funding of the national debt, and providing means for its speedy extinction, as was due in gratitude, justice, and honour.

On his speech being ended, he added, " The congress of Venezuela is installed. In it from this moment is centred the national sovereignty: my sword (grasping it) and those of my illustrious fellows in arms are ever ready to maintain its august authority. God save the Congress of Venezuela!" At this expression, several times repeated by the crowd, a salute of artillery was fired.

The supreme chief then invited the congress to proceed to the election of an interim president, that he might deliver up to him his command. The deputy, Francisco Antonio Zea, having been elected by acclamation, his excellency took the oath on the Holy Evangelists, and in which he was followed by all the members, one by one. When his excellency had taken the oath, he placed the president in the chair which he had himself occupied under the canopy, and, addressing the military, said, " Generals, chiefs, and officers, my fellows in arms, we are nothing more than simple citizens until the sovereign congress condescend to employ us in the classes and ranks agreeable to them: reckoning on your submission, I am about to give them, in your names and my own, the most manifest proof of our obedience, by delivering up the command intrusted to me." On saying which, he approached the president of the congress, and presenting his staff of office, continued: "I return to the republic the general's staff intrusted to me. To serve in whatever rank or class the congress may place me cannot but be honourable. In it I shall give an example of that subordination and blind obedience which ought to characterize every soldier of the republic." The president, addressing the congress, said, "The confirmation of all the ranks and offices conferred by his excellency General Simon Bolivar, during his command, does not appear to admit of any discussion: I, however, request the express approval of the congress for declaring it. Is the congress of opinion, that the ranks and offices conferred by his excellency General Simon Bolivar, as supreme chief of the republic, be confirmed?" All the deputies, standing up, answered *Yes*, and the president continued: "The sovereign congress of the republic confirms, in the person of his excellency the Captain-general Simon Bolivar, all the ranks and offices conferred by him during his government;" and, returning him the staff, placed him in the seat on his right. After a silence of some moments, the president spoke as follows:

"All nations and all empires were in their infancy feeble and little, like man himself, to whom they owe their origin. Those great cities which still inflame the imagination, Memphis, Palmyra, Thebes, Alexandria, Tyre, the capital even of Belus and Semiramis, and thou also, proud Rome, mistress of the universe, were nothing more at their commencement than diminutive and miserable hamlets. It was not in the Capitol, nor in the palace of Agrippa nor of Trajan, but it was in a lowly hut, under a thatched roof, that Romulus, rudely clad, traced the capital of the world, and laid the foundations of his mighty empire. Nothing shone conspicuous but his genius; there was nothing great but himself. It is not by the lustre nor by the magnificence of our installation, but by the immense means bestowed on us by nature, and by the immense plans which you will form for availing ourselves of them, that the future grandeur and power of our republic should be measured. The artless splendour of the noble act of patriotism of which General Bolivar has just given so illustrious and so memorable an example, stamps on this solemnity a character of antiquity, and is a presage of the lofty destinies of our country. Neither Rome nor Athens, nor even Sparta, in the purest days of heroism and public virtue, ever presented so sublime and so interesting a scene. The imagination rises in contemplating it, ages and distances disappear, and we think ourselves contemporary with the Aristides, the Phocions, the Camillus, and the Epaminondas of other days. The same philanthropy and the same liberal sentiments which united to the republican chiefs of high antiquity those beneficent emperors, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, who so worthily trod the same path, will to-day place amongst them this modest general, and with them he will shine in history, and receive the benedictions of posterity. It is not now that the sublime trait of patriotic virtue, which we have witnessed and admire, can be duly appreciated; when our institutions will have had the sanction of time, when every thing weak, and every thing little in our days, passions, interests, and vanities, will have disappeared, and great deeds and great men alone remain, then the abdication of General Bolivar will receive all the justice it so richly merits, and his name will be mentioned with pride in Venezuela, and with veneration throughout the universe. Forgetting every thing he has achieved for the establishment of our liberties—eight years of afflictions and dangers—the sacrifice of his fortune and repose—indescribable fatigues and hardships—exertions of which scarcely a similar example can be quoted from history—that constant proof against every reverse—that invincible firmness, in never despairing of the salvation of our country, even when he saw her subjugated, and he destitute and alone;—forgetting, I say, so many claims to immortality, to fix his attention only on what we have seen and admired. If he had renounced the supreme authority, when it presented nothing but troubles and dangers, when it brought on his head insults and calumnies, and when it appeared nothing more than an empty name, although it would not have been praiseworthy, it would at least have been prudent: but to do it at the very moment when the authority begins to enjoy some attractions in the eyes of ambition, and when every thing forebodes a speedy and fortunate issue to our desires, and to do it of himself, and from the pure love of liberty, is a deed so heroic and so splendid, that I doubt whether it ever had an equal, and despair of its ever being imitated. But what! shall we allow General Bolivar to rise so much above his fellow-citizens as to oppress them with his glory, and not at least endeavour to compete with him in noble and patriotic sentiments, by not permitting him to quit the precincts of this august assembly without re-investing him with that same authority which he had relinquished in order to maintain liberty inviolable, but which was in fact the way to risk it?" "No, no," replied General Bolivar with energy, "never, never will I take upon me again an authority which from my heart I have renounced for ever on principle and sentiment." He continued explaining the dangers which liberty would be exposed to, by continuing for a length of time the same man in possession of the chief authority. He showed the necessity of guarding against the views of every ambitious person, and even against his own, as he could not be sure of always acting and thinking in the same way; and finished his speech with protesting, in the strongest and most decisive tone, that not in any case, nor on any consideration, would he ever accept an authority which he had so sincerely and so cordially renounced, in order to secure to his country the blessings of liberty. His reply being ended, he begged permission to retire, to which the president acceded, and appointed a deputation of ten members to conduct him.

A discussion then took place in the congress about the nomination of an interim president of the republic; but several difficulties arising in the election, it was agreed that General Bolivar should exercise that power for twenty-four, or, at most, for eight and forty hours; and a deputation, with General Marino at their head, was sent to communicate the resolution. General Bolivar replied, that it was only in consideration of the urgency of the case that he accepted the charge, and on the precise condition that it should only be for the time fixed.

This important business being disposed of, and the day far advanced, the sovereign congress resolved to meet the following morning, at half-past nine, and in a body, accompanied by the executive power, the staff, the generals, chiefs and officers of the army and place, to proceed to the holy cathedral church, and return thanks to Almighty God for his mercies, in having granted the happy re-assembling of the national representation, to fix the lot of the republic, by giving it a free constitution, capable of raising it to the height of glory destined by nature.

The president declared the sitting of the installation of the sovereign congress of Venezuela ended, and that the act should be signed by all the deputies and the supreme chief, who had this day laid down his authority, and that it be countersigned by the secretary appointed *ad interim* for that purpose.

Simon Bolivar.
Francisco Antonio Zea.
Juan German Roscio.
Luis Tomas Peraza.
José España.
Onofre Basalo.
Francisco Parejo.
Eduardo Hurtado.
Ramon Garcia Cádiz.
Diego Antonio Alcalá.
Santiago Mariño.
Tomas Montilla.
Juan Martinez.
Diego Vallenilla.
Ramon Ignacio Mendez.
Miguel Guerrero.
Rafael Urdaneta.
Antonio Maria Brizeño.
Eusebio Afanador.
Juan Vicente Cardozo.
Fernando Peñalver.
Pedro Leon Torres.
Gaspar Marcano.
Manuel Palacio.
Domingo Alzura.
José de Jesus Guevara.

Deputy-Secretary *ad interim*, DIEGO BAUTISTA URBANEJA.

Palace of the national congress in Angostura, 17th February, 1819.—To be passed to the supreme executive power, for its publication and circulation.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA, President.
DIEGO BAUTISTA URBANEJA, Secretary.

Government Palace, 18th February, 1819.—To be published, printed, and communicated to the chiefs of the free provinces, and the municipalities.

SIMON BOLIVAR.
PEDRO B. MENDEZ, Secretary of State.

Speech of General Bolivar to the Congress of Venezuela.

GENTLEMEN,

I account myself one of the beings most favoured by divine Providence, in having the honour of re-uniting the representatives of Venezuela in this august congress; the only source of legitimate authority, the deposit of the sovereign will, and the arbiter of the nation's fate.

In delivering back to the representatives of the people the supreme power intrusted to me, I satisfy the desires of my own heart, and calm the wishes of my fellow-citizens and of future generations, who hope every thing from your wisdom, rectitude, and prudence. In fulfilling this delightful duty, I free myself from the boundless authority which oppresses me, and also from the unlimited responsibility which weighs on my feeble hands.

An imperative necessity, united to a strongly expressed desire on the part of the people, could have alone induced me to assume the dreadful and dangerous charge of *dictator, supreme chief of the republic.* Now, however, I respire in returning the authority, which, with so great risk, difficulty, and toil, I have maintained amidst as horrible calamities as ever afflicted a social body.

In the epoch during which I presided over the republic, it was not merely a political storm that raged, in a sanguinary war, in a time of popular anarchy; but the tempest of the desert, a whirlwind of every disorganized element, the bursting of an infernal torrent, that overwhelmed the land of Venezuela. A man! and such a man as I am! what bounds, what resistance, could he oppose to such furious devastation? Amidst that sea of woes and afflictions, I was nothing more than the miserable sport of the revolutionary hurricane, driven to and fro like the wild bird of the ocean. I could do neither good nor evil; an irresistible power, above all human control, directed the march of our fortunes; and for me to pretend to have been the prime mover of the events which have taken place would be unjust, and would be attaching to myself an importance I do not merit. Do you desire to know the sources from which those occurrences took their rise, and the origin of our present situation? Consult the annals of Spain, of America, and of Venezuela; examine the laws of the Indies, the conduct of your ancient governors, the influence of religion, and of foreign dominion; observe the first acts of the republican government, the ferocity of our enemies, and the national character. I again repeat, that I cannot consider myself more than the mere instrument of the great causes which have acted on our country. My life, my conduct, and all my actions, public and private, are however before the people; and, representatives, it is your duty to judge them. I submit to your impartial decision the manner in which I have executed my command, and nothing will I add to excuse—I have already said enough as an apology. Should I merit your approbation, I shall have acquired the sublime title of a *good citizen*, preferred by me to that of *Liberator*, bestowed on me by Venezuela, to that of *Pacificator*, given by Cundinamarca, and to all others the universe could confer.

Legislators! I deposit in your hands the supreme command of Venezuela, and it is now your high duty to consecrate yourselves to the felicity of the republic. In your hands rests the balance of our destiny, and the means of our glory. You will confirm the decrees which establish our liberty.

The supreme chief of the republic is, at this moment, nothing more than a simple citizen; and such he wishes to remain until his latest hour. He will, however, serve with the armies of Venezuela as long as an army treads her soil.

Our country contains within her bosom many deserving sons capable of directing her. Talents, virtue, experience, and whatever is requisite for the good government of free men, are the patrimony, both of many who represent the people in this august assembly, and of others without its walls. Citizens are to be found, who, at all times, have given proofs of their valour in encountering dangers; of their prudence in eschewing them, and in short of the art of governing themselves, and governing others. These illustrious personages do undoubtedly merit the suffrages of the congress, and to receive in charge that government which I, with so much cordiality and sincerity, have just renounced for ever.

The continuation of authority in the same individual has frequently proved the termination of democratical governments.

Repeated elections are essential in popular systems; for nothing is so dangerous as to suffer power to remain a long time vested in one citizen; the people accustomed to obey, and he to command, give rise to usurpation and tyranny. A strict jealousy is the guarantee of republican liberty; and the citizens of Venezuela ought to fear, with the greatest justice, that the same magistrate, who has governed them for a length of time, may do so for ever.

I trust that, from this my act of adherence to the liberty of my country, I may aspire to the glory of being reckoned one of her most faithful lovers.

Permit me, sirs, with the frankness of a true republican, to lay before you a respectful outline of the project of a constitution, which I take the liberty of offering, in testimony of the sincerity and candour of my sentiments. As the safety of all is concerned, I venture to believe that I possess a right of being heard by the representatives of the people. I am well aware that your wisdom has no need of counsellors, and I am moreover aware that my project may appear erroneous and impracticable; but, sirs, accept with kindness this work, which is, I do assure you, rather a tribute of my sincere submission to the congress than the production of presumptuous levity. Your installation moreover constituting the creation of a political body, and, as may be said, even the creation of a whole community, surrounded by all the inconveniencies which the most singular and difficult situation can present, the cry of one citizen may, perhaps, point out the presence of hidden danger.

Casting a glance on the past, we shall see what is the basis of the republic of Venezuela.

The separation of America from the Spanish monarchy resembles the state of the Roman empire, when that enormous mass fell to pieces in the midst of the ancient world. Every dismemberment then formed an independent nation, conformable to its situation and interests; but with the difference, that those associations returned to their original principle. We do not retain vestiges of what we were in other times; we are not Europeans, we are not Indians; but a middle race, betwixt the aborigines and the Spaniards. Americans by birth, and Europeans in rights, we are placed in the extraordinary predicament of disputing with the natives our privilege of possession, and of maintaining ourselves in the country which gave us birth, against the efforts of the original invaders; and thus our situation is the more extraordinary and complicated.

Our lot, moreover, has ever been purely passive; our political existence has ever been nugatory; and we, therefore, encounter greater difficulties in establishing our liberties, having hitherto been in a lower degree of degradation than even servitude, and being not only robbed of our freedom, but not suffering an active and domineering tyranny, which would have excited feelings of indignation.

Permit me to explain this paradox. In the exercise of authorized absolute power there are no limits; the will of the despot is the supreme law, arbitrarily executed by inferiors who participate in the organized oppression in proportion to the authority they hold; being intrusted with all functions, civil, political, military, and religious. America received all from Spain, was without the practice and exercise of an active tyranny, and was not permitted to share in the administration of her domestic concerns and interior arrangements.

This abject state of depression rendered it impossible for us to be acquainted with the course of public affairs, and as little did we enjoy the personal consequence and respect which the show of authority commands in the eyes of the people, and which is of such importance in great revolutions. I say again, that we were abstracted and absent from the world in every thing having a reference to the science of government. The people of America, bound with the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice, could not acquire either knowledge, power, or virtue.

Pupils of such pernicious masters, the lessons we received, and the examples we followed, were the most destructive. We were governed more by deceit and treachery than by force, and were degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin; ambition and intrigue take advantage of the credulity and inexperience of men totally unacquainted with every principle of political and civil economy; the uninformed adopt as realities what are mere illusions; they mistake licentiousness for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and revenge for justice.

A corrupt people, should it gain its liberty, soon loses it again; for in vain are the lights of experience exercised in showing that happiness consists in the practice of virtue, and that the government of laws is more powerful than that of tyrants, because they are more inflexible, and all ought to submit to their wholesome severity; that good morals, and not force, constitute the pillars of the law, and that the exercise of justice is the exercise of liberty.

Thus, legislators, your undertaking is so much the more laborious, as you have to do with men corrupted by the illusions of error, and by noxious incitements. Liberty, says Rousseau, is a succulent food, but difficult of digestion. Our weak and feeble fellow-citizens will have to increase in strength of mind in a very great degree, before they get the length of being able to digest the wholesome aliment of freedom. With members benumbed by fetters, and eyesight weakened by the darkness of dungeons, are they capable of marching with firm steps towards the august temple of Liberty? Are they capable of supporting its splendid rays, or breathing freely the pure ether that reigns there?

Legislators! Consider well the object of your election; bear ever in mind that you are about to form fundamental regulations for an incipient people, which, if you proportionate the basis of the structure to what may be expected, may rise to that pitch of elevation pointed out by nature. If the tutelary genius of Venezuela does not direct your choice, and inspire you with the prudence and expertness necessary for selecting the nature and form of government you are about to adopt for the happiness of the people, if you do not fix aright, depend on it, slavery will be the result.

The records of other days present us with an immense variety of governments. Bring to your recollection the nations which have figured most conspicuously in the history of the world, and with affliction will you remark that almost the whole earth has been, and is, the victim of its governments. You will find many systems for governing men, but most for oppressing them; and had not the custom of seeing the human race led by the pastors of the people diminished the horror of so revolting a spectacle, we should be shocked in observing our docile species feeding on the surface of the globe, like the cattle of the field, destined for the use of their cruel masters. Nature certainly endows us at our birth with an inclination to liberty; but, whether arising from sloth, or some other source, it is a positive fact, that she remains still and quiet under the trammels which may be imposed on her. In contemplating her in this state of prostitution, it would appear that we have reason to be persuaded, that the majority of mankind considers as true that humiliating maxim, that it is more difficult to maintain the equilibrium of liberty than to sustain the weight of tyranny. Would to God that this maxim, so contrary to nature, were false! Would to God that this maxim had not been sanctioned by the indolence of mankind with respect to their most sacred rights!

Many ancient and modern nations have shaken off oppression, but few of them have known how to enjoy a few precious moments of freedom. Very soon have they returned to their former political vices; for the people more frequently than the government bring on tyranny. The habit of submission renders them insensible to the charms of honour and national prosperity, and leads them to regard with insensibility the glory of being free under the protection of laws dictated by their own will. The history of the world proclaims this dreadful truth.

Democracy, in my opinion, is alone susceptible of complete liberty; but what democratical government ever united at the same time power, prosperity, and permanency? and, on the contrary, have we not seen aristocracy and monarchy establish great and powerful empires for ages and ages? What government is more ancient than that of China? What republic has exceeded in duration those of Sparta and Venice? Did not the Roman empire conquer the world? Did not monarchy exist in France for fourteen centuries? What state is more powerful than Great Britain? The governments, however, of those nations were either aristocratical or monarchical.

Notwithstanding such painful reflections, my mind is filled with joy at the great progress made by our republic in its glorious career; loving what is useful, animated by what is just, and aspiring to what is perfect. Venezuela, on separating from Spain, recovered her independence and liberty, her equality and her national sovereignty. Constituting herself into a democratical republic, she proscribed monarchy, distinctions, nobility, charters, and privileges: she declared the rights of man, the liberty of acting, thinking, speaking, and writing. Those facts, so eminently liberal, cannot be sufficiently admired for the purity which gave them birth. The first congress of Venezuela fixed in indelible characters in the annals of our legislation, the majesty of the people as properly expressed in the social act as the fittest to form the happiness of the nation. Every feeling of my mind is required to appreciate duly the supereminent good contained in that immortal code of our rights and laws. But, at the same time, how shall I express myself? Shall I dare to profane with my censure the sacred tables of our laws? There are sentiments which cannot remain quiet in the breast of the man that loves his country, and which, however attempted to be concealed, agitate by their violence, and which an imperious force obliges him to disclose. It grieves me to think that the government of Venezuela requires reform; and, although many illustrious citizens think as I do, all do not possess sufficient boldness to state publicly their opinion in favour of the adoption of new principles; and this consideration has led me to be the first in introducing a subject of the greatest importance, although, in doing so, there is an excessive audacity, in pretending to give advice to the counsellors of the nation.

The more I admire the excellency of the federal constitution of Venezuela, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of applying it to our situation, and, according to my way of thinking, it is a miracle that its model in North America has existed with so much prosperity, and not been thrown into confusion on the first appearance of danger or embarrassment. Notwithstanding which, that people is a singular example of political virtue and moral rectitude; liberty has been its cradle, it has grown up in liberty, and is maintained by pure liberty. I will add, that that people is unique in the history of the human race, and repeat that it is a prodigy that a system so weak and complicated as the federal should have existed under so difficult and delicate circumstances as those which have occurred. However, whatever the case may be as to the government, I must say of the American people, that the idea never entered my mind of assimilating the situation and nature of two nations so distinct as the Anglo and Spanish American. Would it not be extremely difficult to apply to Spain the political, civil, and religious code of Great Britain? It would be even more difficult to adopt in Venezuela the laws of North America. Does not the *Spirit of Laws* say, that laws ought to be suited to the people making them, and that it is a very great chance that those of one nation will suit another? That the laws ought to bear relation to the physical state of the country, to its climate, to the quality of its soil, to its situation, to its extent, and to the manner of life of its inhabitants; having reference to the degree of liberty the constitution can support, to the religion of the people, to their inclinations, riches, number, commerce, customs, and morals.

I now present the code which, according to my way of thinking, we ought to adopt.

The constitution of Venezuela, although founded on the most perfect principles, differed widely from that of America in an essential point, and without doubt the most important. The congress of Venezuela, like that of America, participates in some of the attributes of the executive power. But we go further, and subdivide it by committing it to a collective body, and are consequently subject to the inconvenience of making the existence of the government periodical, of suspending and of dissolving it whenever the members separate. Our triumvirate is void, as one may say, of unity, duration, and personal responsibility; it is at times destitute of action, it is without perpetual life, real uniformity, and immediate responsibility; and a government which does not possess continuance may be denominated a nullity. Although the powers of the president of the United States are limited by excessive restrictions, he exercises by himself alone all the functions of authority granted him by the constitution; and there can be no doubt that his administration must be more uniform, constant, and truly proper, than that of a power divided amongst various individuals, the composition of which cannot but be monstrous.

The judicial power in Venezuela is similar to that in America;

indefinite in duration, temporary and not perpetual, and it enjoys all the independence necessary.

The first congress, in its federal constitution, consulted rather the spirits of the different provinces than the solid idea of establishing an indivisible and concentrated republic. There sat our legislators, under the influence of provincials, carried away with the dazzling appearance of the happiness of North America, thinking that the blessings she enjoyed were owing exclusively to the form of government, and not to the character of the people. And, in fact, the example of the United States, with its progressive prosperity, was too flattering not to have been followed. Who could resist the glorious attraction of the full and absolute enjoyment of sovereignty, independence, and liberty? Who could resist the admiration and esteem inspired by an intelligent government, which unites at the same moment public and private rights, which forms by general consent the supreme law of individuals? Who can resist the dominion of a beneficent government, which, with an able, active, and powerful hand, directs, at all times and in all cases, all its efforts towards that social perfection which ought to be the end of all human institutions? However beautiful this magnificent federative system might appear, and in fact be, Venezuela could not enjoy it immediately on shaking off her chains; we were not prepared for so great a good; good as well as evil causes death when sudden and excessive; our moral constitution did not yet possess the benefits of a government completely representative, and which is so sublime when it can be adopted by a republic of saints.

Representatives of the People! You are convened to confirm or repeal whatever may appear to you proper to be preserved, reformed, or expunged, in our social compact. It is your duty to correct the work of our first legislators, and I would say, that to you it belongs to cover a portion of the beauties contained in our political code; for all hearts are not formed for admiring every beauty, nor all eyes capable of supporting the celestial blaze of perfection. The book of the apostles, the doctrine of Jesus, the divine writings, sent by a gracious Providence to better mankind, so sublime and so holy, would kindle an ocean of flame at Constantinople, and the whole of Asia would fiercely burn, were the book of peace to be imposed at once as the code of religion, laws, and customs.

Permit me to call the attention of the congress to a matter which may be of vital importance. Bear in mind that our population is neither European nor American, but is rather a compound of African and American than of European origin; because even Spain herself is not strictly European, from her African blood, institutions, and character. It is impossible to point out with propriety to what human family we belong. The greater part of the aborigines have been annihilated, the European has mixed with the American and with the African, and the latter has mixed also with the Indian and the European. All children of the same mother, our fathers various in origin and in blood, are strangers, and differ all in figure and form from each other.

All the citizens of Venezuela enjoy by the constitution a political equality; and if that equality had not been a dogma in Athens, in France, and in America, we ought to confirm the principle, in order to correct the difference which may apparently exist. Legislators! my opinion is, that the fundamental principle of our system depends immediately and solely on equality being established and practised in Venezuela. That men are all born with equal rights to the benefits of society, has been sanctioned by almost all the sages of every age; as has also, that all men are not born with equal capacities for the attainment of every rank; as all ought to practise virtue, and all do not so; all ought to be brave, and all are not so; all ought to possess talents, and all do not. From this arises the real distinction observed amongst individuals of the most liberally established society.

If the principle of political equality be generally acknowledged, not less so is that of physical and moral inequality. It would be an illusion, an absurdity, to suppose the contrary. Nature makes men unequal in genius, temperament, strength, and character. Laws correct that difference, by placing the individual in society, where education, industry, arts, sciences, and virtues, give a fictitious equality properly called political and social. The union of all classes in one state is eminently beneficial, and in which diversity is multiplied in proportion to the propagation of the species. By it alone has discord been torn up by the roots, and many jealousies, follies, and prejudices avoided.

Our diversity of origin requires a most powerful pulse, and a delicate manner for managing so heterogeneous a body; as its complicated composition may be dislocated, divided, and dissolved by the slightest change.

The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest degree of happiness, of social security, and political stability.

By the laws dictated by the first congress, we have reason to hope that felicity will be the portion of Venezuela; and from you we may flatter ourselves that security and stability will render that felicity perpetual.

To you it belongs to resolve the problem, in what manner, after having broken the fetters of our former oppressors, we may accomplish the wonderful feat of preventing the remains of our grievous chains being turned into the arms of licentiousness. The relics of Spanish dominion will continue a long time before we can completely destroy them; our atmosphere is impregnated with the contagion of despotism, and neither the flame of war, nor the specific of our salutary laws, has purified the air we breathe. Our hands are indeed free, but our hearts are still suffering from the effects of servitude. Man, in losing his liberty, says Homer, loses half his spirit.

A republican government has been, is, and ought to be, that of Venezuela; its basis ought to be the sovereignty of the people, the division of power, civil liberty, the prohibition of slavery, and the abolition of monarchy and privileges. We want equality, for recasting, as one may say, men, political opinions, and public customs. Throwing our sight over the vast field we have to examine, let us fix our attention on the dangers we ought to avoid, and let history guide us in our career.

Athens presents us with the most brilliant example of an absolute democracy, and at the same time is a melancholy proof of the extreme weakness of that kind of government. The wisest legislator of Greece did not see his republic last ten years, and underwent the humiliation of acknowledging the insufficiency of an absolute democracy for governing any kind of society, not even the most cultivated, moral, and limited, because it shines only with flashes of liberty. Let us acknowledge then that Solon has undeceived the world, and shown how difficult it is to govern men by simple laws.

The republic of Sparta, which appeared a chimerical invention, produced more real effects than the ingenious work of Solon: glory, virtue, morality, and consequently national happiness, were the result of the legislature of Lycurgus. Although two kings in one state were like two monsters to devour it, Sparta suffered but little from that double royalty, and Athens enjoyed the most splendid lot under an absolute sovereignty, free elections of magistrates frequently renewed, mild, wise, and politic laws. Pisistratus, an usurper and a despot, did more good to Athens than her laws; and Pericles, although an usurper likewise, was the most useful citizen.

The republic of Thebes existed only during the lives of Pelopidas and Epaminondas; for it is men, and not principles, that form governments. However wise codes, systems, and statutes may be, they have but little influence on society; it is virtuous, patriotic, and enlightened men that constitute republics.

The Roman constitution was that which produced the greatest power and fortune to any people on earth: in it there was no exact distribution of power. The consuls, the senate, and the people, were legislators, magistrates, and judges; they all participated in all those offices. The executive, consisting of two consuls, had the same inconvenience as that of Sparta, and yet, notwithstanding its deformity, the republic did not suffer that mischievous discordance, which might be supposed inseparable from a magistracy consisting of two individuals, endowed equally with the powers of a monarch. A government whose sole inclination was war and conquest did not appear likely to establish the happiness of the people. A government monstrous in itself, and purely warlike, raised Rome to the highest pitch of virtue and glory, and formed of the world a Roman empire; proving to mankind the force of political virtues, and the trivial influence of institutions.

Passing from ancient to modern times, we find England and France deserving general attention, and giving impressive lessons in every species of government. The revolutions in those two great states, like brilliant meteors, have filled the world with so great a profusion of political light, that every thinking being has learned what are the rights and duties of man; in what the excellency of governments consists, and in what their vices; all know how to appreciate the intrinsic value of the theoretical speculations of modern philosophers and legislators. In short, this star in its brilliant course inflamed even the apathetic Spaniards, who also, entering the political whirlwind, gave ephemeral proofs of liberty, and have shown their incapacity of living under the mild dominion of the law, by returning, after a short blaze, to their original bondage.

Legislators! this is the proper time for repeating what the eloquent Volney says, in his dedication to the *Ruins of Palmyra:* "To the growing people of the Spanish Indies—to the generous chiefs who conduct them to liberty—may the errors and misfortunes of the old world teach wisdom and happiness to the new!" May they never lose themselves; but profit by the lessons of experience given in the schools of Greece, of Rome, of France, of England, and of America, and be instructed by them in the difficult science of establishing and preserving nations with proper, just, legitimate, and, above all, useful laws; never forgetting that the excellency of a government does not consist in its theory, form, or mechanism, but in being fitted to the nature and character of the people for which it was instituted.

Rome and Great Britain are the nations which have most excelled amongst the ancients and moderns. Both were born to command and be free, and yet neither had constitutions modelled in liberty's most brilliant form, but solid establishments; and on that account, therefore, I recommend to you, representatives, the study of the British constitution, which appears to be the one destined to produce the greatest possible effect on the people adopting it; but, perfect as it may be, I am very far, at the same time, from proposing a servile imitation of it. When I speak of the British constitution, I refer solely to the democratical part of it; and, in truth, it may be denominated a monarchy in system, in which is acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, the division and equilibrium of power, civil freedom, liberty of conscience and of the press, and every thing that is sublime in politics. A greater degree of liberty cannot be enjoyed in any kind of republic, and it may indeed claim a high rank in social order. I recommend that constitution as the best model to those who aspire to the enjoyments of the rights of man, and of all that political felicity compatible with our frail natures.

In nothing whatever would we change our fundamental laws, were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that of the British parliament. We have divided, as the Americans have done, the national representation into two houses, that of the representatives and the senate. The first is wisely composed; it enjoys all the privileges fitted for it, and is not susceptible of essential change; as the constitution has endowed it with the origin, form, and powers, required by the will of the people for being lawfully and competently represented.

If the senate, in place of being elective, were hereditary, it would, in my conception, be the basis, the bond, and the soul of the republic, and in political storms it would possess the functions of government, and would resist popular commotions. Attached to the government by the powerful excitement of its own preservation, it would ever oppose the attempts the people might make against the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates. It must be confessed, that most men are ignorant of their true interests, and are continually attacking them in the hands of those to whom they are committed. The individual contends against the general mass, and the general mass against authority; and it is, therefore, necessary that a neutral body should exist in all governments, to protect the injured and disarm the offender. This neutral body, in order that it may be such, ought neither to derive its origin from the choice of the government, nor from that of the people, but in such wise that it may enjoy complete independence, neither fearing nor hoping any thing from either of those sources of authority. An hereditary senate, as a part of the people, would participate in its interests, in its opinions, and in its spirit, and for that reason it is not to be presumed that an hereditary senate will separate from the interests of the people, and forget its legislative duties. The senators in Rome, and the peers in Britain, have proved themselves the firmest pillars in the glorious structure of civil and political liberty.

These senators will, for the first time, be elected by the congress, and their successors in the senate will occupy the principal attention of the government, which will cause them to be educated in a college especially set apart for the instruction of those future guardians and legislators of the country. They will be taught the arts, the sciences, and every thing than can adorn the mind of a public man; from their earliest infancy they will be acquainted with the career destined them by Providence, and from their most tender years their souls will be elevated to the dignity awaiting them.

In no manner whatever would the creation of an hereditary senate be a violation of political equality: it is not a nobility I wish to establish; because that, as has been said by a celebrated republican, would be to destroy at once equality and liberty. It is an office for which candidates ought to be prepared, and is also an office requiring extensive knowledge, and proportionate means for attaining it.

In elections, every thing ought not to be left to chance and hazard; for the public is easier deceived than nature perfected by art; and although it be a fact that these senators will not proceed from the womb of virtue, it is equally true that they will come forth endowed with a most finished education. The liberators of Venezuela are moreover entitled to hold for ever a high rank in the republic which is indebted to them for existence, and I do believe that posterity would observe with regret the extinction of the illustrious names of its first benefactors. I will say further, that it is for the public interest, that it is for the national honour, and that it is due from the gratitude of Venezuela, to preserve in honour to the latest posterity, a race of virtuous, prudent, and valiant men, who, overcoming every obstacle, have established the republic at the expense of the most heroic sacrifices; and if the people of Venezuela do not applaud and rejoice at the elevation of its benefactors, they are unworthy to be free, and never will be so.

An hereditary senate, I say again, will be the fundamental basis of the legislative power, and consequently the basis of the whole government. It will act equally as a counterpoise to the government and the people, and will be an intermediate authority to deaden the arrows which those perpetual rivals are constantly shooting at each other.

In all contests, the interposition of a third person becomes the means of reconciliation; and thus will the senate of Venezuela be the cement of the delicate edifice so liable to violent concussions. It will be the means of calming the fury and maintaining the harmony betwixt the members and the head of this political body. Nothing can corrupt a legislative body invested with the highest honours; dependent on itself alone, without fearing any thing from the people, or expecting any thing from the government, whose only object is to repress every tendency to evil, and encourage every attempt at good, and which is deeply interested in the existence of a society with which it shares adversity and prosperity.

It has been most justly remarked, that the British house of peers is invaluable to the nation, as forming a bulwark to the liberties of the people; and I dare add, that the senate of Venezuela will not only be a bulwark to liberty, but a help to render the republic perpetual.

The executive power in Great Britain is invested with all the sovereign authority fitted to it; but it is also circumscribed by a triple line of ditches, barriers, and palisades. The sovereign is indeed the head of the government, but his ministers and officers depend more on the laws than on his authority, because they are personally responsible, and from that responsibility not even royal authority can exempt them. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, he makes peace and declares war; but it is the parliament alone which votes annually the supplies. For neutralizing his power, the person of the king is inviolable and sacred; whilst his head is left free, his hands are bound. The sovereign of Britain has three formidable rivals: the cabinet, which is responsible to the people and to parliament; the house of peers, which protects the interests of the people, as representing the nobility of which it is composed; and the house of commons, the organ of the British public: as the judges are moreover responsible for the due fulfilment of the laws, they adhere strictly to them; and the administrators of the public money, being accountable not only for their own violation of duty, but even for what the government may do, guard against misapplication.

The more the nature of the executive power in Britain is examined, the more will you be inclined to think it the most perfect model for either a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. In Venezuela, let the executive power be exercised by a president, appointed by the people or their representatives, and we shall then have taken a long stride towards national felicity.

Whoever the citizen may be that may fill that situation, he will be supported by the constitution; authorized to do good, he cannot do evil, for, submitting to the laws, his ministers will co-operate with him; and should he, on the contrary, attempt to infringe them, his own ministers will leave him insulated in the midst of the republic, and will even impeach him to the senate. The ministers being responsible for such offences as may be committed, are the persons that govern; and it is not the least advantage of the system, that those more immediately exercising the functions of the executive power take an interesting and active part in the deliberations of the government, and consider their duties as personal.

It may happen that the president may not be a man of great talents or virtues, and notwithstanding the want of those essential qualities, he may still perform the duties of his situation in a satisfactory manner; because, in such case, the ministry, doing every thing itself, bears the burden of the state. However exorbitant the authority of executive power in Great Britain may appear, it would not perhaps be too great in the republic of Venezuela. Here the congress has bound both the hands and heads of the magistrates, and has assumed a portion of the executive functions, contrary to the maxim of Montesquieu, who says, that a representative body ought not to take upon itself any active principle; it ought to make laws, and see those executed which it does make. Nothing is so dangerous to a people as a weak executive; and if it has been deemed necessary to endow it with so many attributes in a monarchy, how infinitely more indispensable would it be in a republic! Let us fix our attention on this difference, and we shall find that the equilibrium of power ought to be distributed in two ways. In a republic, the executive ought to be the strongest, because every thing conspires against it; and, on the other hand, in a monarchy, the legislative ought to be the most powerful, as every thing unites in favour of the sovereign. The veneration which people bear for a regal magistracy is a proof of its influence in augmenting the superstitious respect paid to that species of authority. The splendour of the throne, crown, and purple, the formidable support given by the nobility, the immense riches acquired by generations of the same dynasty, and the fraternal protection afforded by kings to each other, are considerable advantages militating in favour of royal authority, and render it almost unlimited. Those very advantages are a reason why a republican magistrate should be endowed with greater power than that possessed by a constitutional prince.

A republican magistrate is an insulated individual in the midst of society, intrusted with the duty of curbing the impetus of the people towards licentiousness, and the propensity of judges and administrators to an abuse of the laws. Such a one, with regard to the legislative body, the senate, and the people, is a single individual resisting the combined attack of the opinions, the interests, and the passions of society, which, according to what Carnot says, is constantly striving betwixt the desire of governing and that of not being subject to any authority. He is, in short, one athlete opposed to a multitude of others. The only corrective to such weakness is a vigorous and suitable resistance to the opposition made to the executive power by the legislative body and people of a republic. If the executive do not possess the means of exercising all the authority properly placed at its disposal, it becomes null, and the government expires, leaving anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny, as its heirs and successors.

Let the whole system of government, therefore, be strengthened, and the equilibrium established in such a manner, that it cannot be overturned, nor its refinement become a cause of decay. As no form of government is so weak as a democracy, its constitution ought to be as solid as possible, and its institutions conducive to stability. If such be not the case, we may reckon on having only a government on trial, and not a permanent system; and on having a wavering, tumultuous, and anarchical community, and not a social establishment, in which happiness, peace, and justice reign.

Legislators! let us not be presumptuous, but moderate in our pretensions. It is by no means likely that we can do what has never yet been accomplished by any of the human race, what the greatest and wisest nations have never effected. Undefined liberty and absolute democracy are the rocks on which republican hopes and expectations have been wrecked.

Take a view of the republics of antiquity, of those of modern times, and of those rising into existence, and you will find, that almost all have been frustrated in their attempts. The men, who aim at legitimate institutions and social perfection, are undoubtedly deserving of every praise; but who can say that mankind possess complete wisdom, or that they practise all the virtues which the union of power and justice imperatively demand? Angels, and not men, can alone exist free, peaceable, and happy, in the exercise of sovereign power.

Whilst the people of Venezuela exercise the rights they lawfully enjoy, let us moderate the excessive pretensions which an incompetent form of government might suggest, and let us give up that federal system which does not suit us, let us get clear of the triumvirate executive power, and concentre it in one president, and let us commit to him sufficient authority to enable him to resist the inconveniences arising from our recent situation, from the state of warfare we have been suffering under, and from the kind of foreign and domestic enemies we have had to deal with, and with whom we shall still have to contend for a length of time. Let the legislative power resign the attributes belonging to the executive, and acquire nevertheless fresh consistency, and fresh influence in the equilibrium of authority. Let the courts of justice be reformed by the permanency and independence of the judges, by the establishment of juries, and of civil and criminal codes, not dictated by antiquated nor by conquering kings, but by the voice of nature, by the cry of justice, and by the genius of wisdom.

It is my anxious wish that every part of the government and administration should acquire that degree of vigour, which can alone sustain a due equilibrium, not simply amongst the members of government, but even amongst the various ranks of which society is composed. It would not signify, were the springs of a political system to be relaxed, if that relaxation did not occasion the dissolution of the social body, and the ruin of those associated. The cries of the human race, in the fields of battle and in tumultuous assemblies, appeal to Heaven against those inconsiderate and blind legislators who have thought they could with impunity make trials of chimerical institutions. All the nations on earth have sought after liberty, some by arms and others by laws, passing alternately from anarchy to despotism, or from despotism to anarchy; but very few have been satisfied with moderate attainments, or adopted constitutions conformable to their means, nature, and circumstances.

Let us not attempt what is impossible, lest, by endeavouring to rise too high in the regions of liberty, we fall into the abyss of tyranny. From absolute liberty there is always a descent to absolute power, and the medium betwixt the two extremes is supreme social liberty. Abstract ideas give rise to the pernicious idea of unlimited liberty. Let us so act that the power of the people be restrained within the limits pointed out by reason and interest; that the national will be curbed by a just authority; and that the civil and criminal legislation, analogous to our constitution, govern imperatively the judicial power; in which case an equilibrium will exist, and those differences and discords avoided which would embarrass the concerns of state, as well as that species of complication which shackles instead of uniting society.

To form a stable government, a national feeling is required, possessing an uniform inclination towards two principal points, regulating public will, and limiting public authority, the bounds of which are difficult to be assigned; but it may be supposed that the best rule for our direction is reciprocal restriction and concentration, so that there may be the least friction possible betwixt legitimate will and legitimate power.

Love of country, laws, and magistrates, ought to be the ruling passion in the breast of every republican. Venezuelans love their country, but not its laws, because they are bad, and the source of evil; and as little could they respect their magistrates, as the old ones were wicked, and the new ones are hardly known in the career they have commenced. If a sacred respect does not exist for country, laws, and constituted authorities, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict of man with man, and of body with body.

To save our incipient republic from such a chaos, all our moral powers will be insufficient, unless we melt the whole people down into one mass; the composition of the government is a whole, the legislation is a whole, and national feeling is a whole. Unity, Unity, Unity, ought to be our device. The blood of our citizens is various, let us mix it to make it one; our constitution has divided authority, let us agree to unite it; our laws are the sad remains of all ancient and modern despotisms, let the monstrous structure be demolished, let it fall, and, withdrawing from its ruins, let us erect a temple to justice, and, under the auspices of its sacred influence, let us dictate a code of Venezuelan laws. Should we wish to consult records and models of legislation, Great Britain, France, and North America, present us with admirable ones.

Popular education ought to be the first care of the congress's paternal regard. Morals and knowledge are the cardinal points of a republic, and morals and knowledge are what we most want.

Let us take from Athens her Areopagus, and the guardians of customs and laws; let us take from Rome her censors and domestic tribunals, and, forming a holy alliance of those moral institutions, let us renew on earth the idea of a people not contented with being free and powerful, but which desires also to be virtuous.

Let us take from Sparta her austere establishments, and form from those three springs a reservoir of virtue.

Let us give our republic a fourth power, with authority to preside over the infancy and hearts of men, public spirit, good habits, and republican morality. Let us constitute this Areopagus to watch over the education of youth and national instruction, to purify whatever may be corrupt in the republic—to impeach ingratitude, egotism, lukewarmness in the country's cause, sloth, and idleness, and to pass judgment on the first germs of corruption and pernicious example.

We should correct manners with moral pain, the same as the law punishes crime with corporal, not only what may offend, but what may ridicule; not only what may assault, but what may weaken; and not only what may violate the constitution, but whatever may infringe on public decency.

The jurisdiction of this really sacred tribunal ought to be effective in every thing regarding education and instruction, and only deliberative as to pains and punishments; and thus its annals and records, in which will be inscribed its acts and deliberations, and the moral principles and actions of citizens, will be the registers of virtue and vice: registers which the people will consult in their elections, the magistrates in their determinations, and the judges in their decisions. Such an institution, however chimerical it may appear, is infinitely easier to realize, than others of less utility to mankind established by some ancient and modern legislators.

Legislators! by the project of the constitution, which I respectfully submit to your consideration, you will discover the feeling by which it was dictated.

In proposing the division of our citizens into active and passive, I have endeavoured to excite national prosperity by industry's two great springs, labour and knowledge. Stimulated by those two powerful causes, the greatest difficulties may be overcome, and men made respectable and happy.

In imposing equitable and prudent restrictions on the primary and electoral assemblies, the first barrier is opposed to popular licentiousness, and thereby those injurious and tumultuous meetings avoided, which at all times have given rise to prejudicial consequences in the election, and which have of course been entailed on the magistrates and the government, as the primordial act is generative of either the liberty or slavery of a people.

By increasing in the balance of power the weight of the congress, by the number of legislators and the nature of the senate, a fixed basis is bestowed on this primary body of the nation, and it is invested with great importance for the exercise of its sovereign functions.

In separating distinctly the executive from the legislative power, it is not intended to sow division betwixt those supreme authorities, but to unite them with those bonds of harmony which proceed from independence.

In investing the executive with a power and authority much exceeding what it hitherto possessed, it is by no means intended to enable a despot to tyrannize over the republic, but to prevent deliberative despotism becoming the immediate cause of a round of despotic changes, in which anarchy would be alternately replaced by oligarchy and monocracy.

In soliciting the independence of judges, the establishment of juries, and a new code, the security of civil liberty is requested, the most estimable, the most equitable, the most necessary, and, in one word, the only liberty, as, without it, all others are a nullity. An amendment is asked of the lamentable abuses in our judicature, and which derive their origin from the filthy sink of Spanish legislation, collected in various ages, and from various sources, equally from the productions of folly and of talent, equally the fruit of good sense and of extravagance, and equally the memorial of genius and of caprice. That judicial encyclopedia, that monster with ten thousand heads, which has hitherto been a rod of punishment to Spanish nations, is the fiercest calamity the anger of Heaven ever permitted that unfortunate empire to be afflicted with.

Meditating on the most efficient mode of regenerating the character and habits which tyranny and war have given us, I have dared to suggest a moral power, drawn from the remote ages of antiquity, and those obsolete laws, which for some time maintained public virtue amongst the Greeks and Romans; and although it may be considered a mere whim of fancy, it is possible, and I flatter myself, that you will not altogether overlook an idea, which, when meliorated by experience and knowledge, may prove of the greatest efficacy.

Terrified at the disunion which has hitherto existed, and must exist amongst us, from the subtle spirit characterizing the federative system, I have been induced to solicit you to adopt the concentration and union of all the states of Venezuela into one republic, one and indivisible. A measure, in my opinion, urgent, vital, and saving, and of such a nature that, without it, the fruit of our regeneration would be destruction.

It is my duty, legislators, to present to you a just and faithful picture of my political, civil, and military administration; but to do so would tire your valuable attention too much, and rob you at this moment of time equally precious and pressing; and the secretaries of state will therefore give an account to the congress of their various departments, and exhibit at the same time those documents and records necessary to illustrate every thing, and to make you thoroughly acquainted with the real and actual state of the republic.

I will not notice the most momentous acts of my command, although they concern most of my countrymen, and will call your attention only to the last memorable revolution. Horrid, atrocious, and impious slavery covered with her sable mantle the land of Venezuela, and our atmosphere lowered with the dark gloomy clouds of the tempest, threatening a fiery deluge. I implored the protection of the God of nature, and at his almighty word the storm was dispelled. The day-star of liberty rose, slavery broke her chains, and Venezuela was surrounded with new and with grateful sons, who turned the instruments of her thrall and bondage into arms of freedom. Yes! those who were formerly slaves are now free, those who were formerly the enemies of our country are now its defenders.

I leave to your sovereign authority the reform or repeal of all my ordonnances, statutes, and decrees; but I implore you to confirm the complete emancipation of the slaves, as I would beg my life, or the salvation of the republic.

To exhibit the military history of Venezuela would be to bring to our recollection the history of republican heroism amongst the ancients; it would show that Venezuela had made as brilliant sacrifices on the sacred altar of liberty. The noble hearts of our generous warriors have been filled with those sublime and honourable feelings which have ever been attributed to the benefactors of the human race. Not fighting for power or fortune, nor even glory, but for liberty alone; the title of Liberator of the republic has been their highest recompense; having, in forming an association of those gallant heroes, instituted the Order of Liberators of Venezuela. Legislators! to you it belongs to confer honours and decorations, and it is your duty to exercise that act of national gratitude.

Men who have given up all the benefits and advantages they formerly enjoyed, as a proof of their virtue and disinterestedness—men who have undergone every thing horrible in a most inhuman war, suffering the most painful privations and the cruellest anguish—men so deserving of their country merit the attention of government; and I have therefore given directions to recompense them out of the national property.

If I have acquired any portion of merit in the eyes of my countrymen, I entreat you, representatives, to vouchsafe my petition, as the reward of my feeble services; and let the congress order a distribution of the national property, conformable to the ordonnance I passed in the name of the republic, in favour of the military sons of Venezuela.

After our having, in a succession of victories, destroyed the Spanish armies, the court of Madrid, in despair, vainly endeavoured to take by surprise the feelings of those magnanimous sovereigns who had just extirpated usurpation and tyranny in Europe, and who ought to protect the legitimacy and justice of the cause of America. Spain, unable to reduce us to submission by dint of arms, had recourse to her insidious policy, and tried every perfidious art. Ferdinand humbled himself so far as to confess that, without the assistance of foreign aid, he could not force us back under his ignominious yoke; a yoke which no mortal power can oblige us to submit to. Venezuela, convinced that she is in possession of sufficient strength to repel her oppressors, has declared through the organ of government her fixed and final determination to fight to annihilation in defence of her political life, not only against Spain, but even against the universe, should the universe be so degraded as to assume the party of a destructive government, whose only objects are an exterminating sword, and the shrieks of the inquisition—a government that desires not fertile regions, but deserts—not cities, but ruins—not subjects, but sepulchres. The declaration of the republic of Venezuela is the most glorious, the most heroic, and the most dignified act of a free people; and it is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour of laying it before congress, sanctioned as it is by the unanimous approbation of the free people of the land.

Since the second epoch of the republic, our armies wanted the necessaries of war; they were constantly void of arms and ammunition, and were at all times badly equipped; but at present the brave defenders of independence are not only armed with justice, but with power, and our troops may rank with the choicest in Europe, now that they possess equal means of destruction.

For these important advantages we are indebted to the unbounded liberality of some generous foreigners, who, hearing the groans of suffering humanity, and seeing the cause of freedom, reason, and justice, ready to sink, could not remain quiet, but flew to our succour with their munificent aid and protection, and furnished the republic with every thing needful to cause their philanthropical principles to triumph. Those friends of mankind are the guardian geniuses of America, and to them we owe a debt of eternal gratitude, as well as a religious fulfilment of the several obligations contracted with them. The national debt, legislators, is the deposit of the good faith, the honour, and the gratitude of Venezuela: respect it as the holy ark which encloses not only the rights of our benefactors, but the glory of our fidelity. Let us perish rather than fail, in any the smallest point, in the completion of those engagements, which have been the salvation of our country, and of the lives of her sons.

The union of New Granada and Venezuela in one great state has uniformly been the ardent wish of the people and governments of these republics. The fortune of war has effected this junction so much desired by every American, and in fact we are incorporated. These sister-nations have intrusted to you their interests, rights, and destinies. In contemplating the union of this immense district, my mind rises with delight to the stupendous height necessary for viewing properly so wonderful a picture.

Flying from present and approaching times, my imagination plunges into future ages, in which I observe, with admiration and amazement, the prosperity, the splendour, and the animation, which this vast region will have acquired. My ideas are wafted on, and I see my beloved native land in the centre of the universe, expanding herself on her extensive coasts between those oceans which nature had separated, and which our country will have united with large and capacious canals. I see her the bond, the centre, and the emporium of the human race; I see her transmitting to earth's remotest bounds those treasures contained in her mountains of gold and silver; I see her distributing, by her salutiferous plants, health and life to the afflicted of the old world; I see her imparting to the sages of other regions her inestimable secrets, ignorant until then how much her height of knowledge transcends her excessive wealth! Yes! I see her, seated on the throne of freedom, wielding the sceptre of justice, and crowned with glory, show the old world the majesty of the new.

Legislators! Condescend to receive with indulgence the declaration of my political creed; the highest wishes of my heart and earnest petition, which, in the name of the people, I have dared to address to you.

Vouchsafe to grant to Venezuela a government purely popular, purely just, and purely moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy, and crime; a government which will cause innocency, philanthropy, and peace to reign; a government which, under the dominion of inexorable laws, will cause equality and liberty to triumph.

Gentlemen! Commence your duties: I have finished mine.

The congress of the republic of Venezuela is installed. In it from this moment is centered the national sovereignty. We all owe to it obedience and fidelity. My sword, and those of my illustrious fellows-in-arms, will maintain its august authority.

God save the Congress!

(N.)

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Project of the Constitution for the Republic of Bolivia, with an Address of the Liberator.

TO THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF BOLIVIA.

Legislators! In offering the project of a constitution for Bolivia, I feel overwhelmed with confusion and timidity, being convinced of my incapacity to make laws. When I consider that the wisdom of whole centuries is insufficient to compose a fundamental law which shall be perfect, and that the most enlightened legislator is, perhaps, the immediate cause of human unhappiness, and, if I may so express myself, the dupe of his divine ministry, what may not be said of a soldier born amongst slaves, and buried in the deserts of his country—having seen nothing but captives in chains, and companions in arms to break them? I, a legislator! . . . . . . Your mistaken choice, and my engagement, are disputing, as it were, for precedence. I know not who may suffer most in this horrible conflict; whether this be your lot, on account of the evils you have to apprehend from the laws you solicit me to enact; or mine, because of the opprobrium to which your confidence may expose me.

I have summoned all my powers of mind, for the purpose of submitting to you my opinions respecting the best method of managing free men, according to the principles adopted by civilized nations; although the lessons of experience exhibit only long periods of disasters chequered by some glimpses of good fortune. What guides can we follow in the shade of such dark examples?

Legislators! Your duty calls on you to resist the shock of two monstrous enemies, who mutually combat each other, and who will both attack you at one and the same time. . . . . . . *Tyranny* and *Anarchy* form an immense ocean of oppression, rolling round a small isle of Liberty, perpetually beaten by the violence of the waves and of the hurricanes which incessantly threaten its submersion. Such is the sea on which you are about to launch, in a frail bark, with a pilot so inexperienced.

The project of the constitution for Bolivia is divided into four political powers, having one more added, without thereby rendering the classic division of each from the other more complicated. The electoral part has received certain powers, which are not allotted to it in other governments which deem themselves most liberal. These attributes greatly approach those of the federal system. It has appeared to me not only fit, convenient, and useful, but also easy and facilitating, to grant to the immediate representatives of the people those privileges which are most desirable to the citizens of each department, province, and canton. No object is of greater importance to a citizen than the election of his legislators, magistrates, judges, and ministers. The electoral colleges of every province represent the necessitous wants and interests thereof, and serve to make complaints against the infringement of the laws, and the abuses committed by magistrates. I may venture to declare with some confidence, that this sort of representation participates in the rights which are especially enjoyed by federal states. By this method a new counterpoise is put into the scale against the executive power, and the government acquires more guarantees, more popularity, and fresh grounds of preference, over others the most democratic.

Every ten citizens name and appoint an elector; and thus is the nation represented by a tenth of its citizens. They require nothing but capacity, they need not possess estates to represent the august function of sovereignty; but they must be able to write their votes, to sign their names, and to read the laws. They must profess a science, or an art, which secures to them an honest livelihood. No disqualifications are admitted, except vice, idleness, and gross and absolute ignorance. Knowledge and honesty, not money, are the requisites for exercising political power.

The legislative body is so composed as necessarily to render its parts harmonious. It will not be always divided for want of an arbitrating judge, as is the case in constitutions having no more than two chambers; three of them being here provided, any disagreement between two of them is resolved by the third; and a question examined by two contending parties finds a third impartial party to decide; so that no useful law will remain inefficient, or at least will have undergone one, two, or three inquiries, before it is negatived. In all matters of business between two opposite and contending parties, a third is named to decide: and would it not be absurd that, in the more arduous interests of society, such a provision, dictated by imperious necessity, should be overlooked and disdained? Thus the chambers will guard among themselves those considerations which are indispensable for the preservation of the union of the whole, and which ought to deliberate dispassionately, and with the peculiar calmness of wisdom. Modern congresses, I may be told, are composed of only two sections. The reason is, that in England, which country has been taken for a pattern, the nobility and the people were to be represented in two houses; and if the same course was followed in North

America, where there is no nobility, we must suppose that the habit of living under the English government occasioned the imitation. The fact is, that two deliberative bodies must be in perpetual conflict; and for this reason the Abbé Sieyes would have no more than one in France. A classical absurdity!

The first chamber is that of the tribunes, which is privileged to initiate laws respecting the revenue, peace and war. This body has the immediate inspection of those branches which the executive administers with least intervention of the legislature.

The senators form the ecclesiastical regulations and codes, and watch over the tribunals and religion. It is the business of the senate to choose the prefects, judges of districts, governors, corregidors, and all the subalterns of the judicial department. It proposes to the chamber of censors the members of the supreme tribunal, the archbishops, bishops, dignitaries of the church, and canons. Whatever belongs to religion and the laws falls under the cognizance of the senate.

The censors exercise a political and moral power, bearing some resemblance to the Areopagus of Athens, and the censors at Rome. They are a sort of fiscals on the government, to watch the constitution, and to demand a religious observance of public treaties. I have placed under their ægis the national judgment, which is to decide on the good or bad administration of the executive government.

The censors are charged with the protection of morality, the arts and sciences, education, and the press. The most awful and the most august functions belong to the censors. They condemn to perpetual opprobrium the usurpers of sovereign authority, and those guilty of high crimes and malversation. They bestow public honours on the services and virtues of illustrious citizens. The dispensation of glory is confided to their hands, and for this very reason the censors must be men of unsullied innocence and unblemished life. If they offend, they may be accused even for slight delinquencies. To those high priests of the laws is the preservation of our sacred statutes intrusted; and they are bound to impugn the profaners thereof.

The president of the republic becomes, in our constitution, like the sun, which, firm in its centre, vivifies the whole system.

This supreme authority is to be perpetual; for, in constitutions that have no hierarchy, it is more necessary than in others, that there should be a fixed point, round which the other magistrates and citizens may revolve, as well as men and things. "Give me a fixed point," said an ancient sage, "and I will move the world." To Bolivia, a president for life will serve for such a fixed point. He is the key-stone of the whole arch, though not endowed with action. His head has been removed, in order that no one may dread his intentions; and his hands have been tied, that he may do no injury to any one.

The president of Bolivia participates in the powers of the American executive, but under restrictions favourable to the people. His duration in office is as that of the president of Hayti. I have chosen for Bolivia the executive of the most democratic republic in the world.

The island of Hayti (if I may be allowed this digression) was in a perpetual state of insurrection. After trying empire, kingdom, and republic; in fact, every species of government known and unknown, she found herself under the necessity of having recourse to the illustrious Petion to save her. When confidence was placed in him, the destinies of Hayti vacillated no longer. Petion was appointed president for life, with the power to elect his successor; after which, neither the death of this great man, nor the succession of a new president, caused the slightest danger to the state. Under the worthy Boyer every thing went on with the tranquillity and calmness of a legitimate reign. This is a triumphant proof that a president for life, with the right of choosing his successor, is the most sublime conception in the republican order of things.

The president of Bolivia will be less dangerous than the one for Hayti, inasmuch as the mode of succession is better secured for the good of the state. Besides, the president of Bolivia is deprived of, and stands aloof from, every sort of influence. He does not nominate the magistrates, the judges, or appoint to any ecclesiastical dignities, however subordinate. This diminution of power has, however, not been submitted to by any well constituted government: it restrains, by shackles upon shackles, the authority of a chief, who will ever find the whole people swayed by those who exercise the most important functions of society. The priests regulate the consciences of men; the judges determine all matters of property, honour, and life; and the magistrates are predominant in all public acts. As these owe their dignities, glory, and fortunes, solely to the people, the president could never hope to make them accomplices in any ambitious views of his own. If to this consideration be added those which naturally arise from the general resistance encountered by a democratic government, at every turn of its administration, we may feel warranted in assuming as a certainty, that this government is less liable than any other to usurpation of authority.

Legislators! From this day forward liberty will be indestructible in America. You see that the savage nature of this continent is of itself sufficient to repel the monarchical form of government. Deserts are favourable to independence. Here we have no grandees, either aristocratical or ecclesiastical. Our riches were but inconsiderable, and now they are reduced in a still greater degree. Though the church enjoys some influence, she is far from aspiring to dominion, being satisfied with her own preservation. Without such supports, tyrants never remain permanent; and if some ambitious men should engage in raising empires for themselves, the fate of Dessalines, Christophe, and Iturbide, will warn them of what they have to expect. No power finds greater difficulty to maintain itself than that of a new prince. Bonaparte, who vanquished so many armies, could not succeed in overcoming this rule, which is stronger than empire. And if the great Napoleon was unable to maintain himself against the league of republicans and aristocrats, who may hope to found monarchies in America, in a soil warmed and illuminated by the bright flames of liberty; in a soil which consumes the materials used for erecting these legal platforms? No, legislators! fear not any pretenders or aspirants to crowns. To them the diadem would be what the hair-suspended falchion was over the head of Dionysius. Those upstart princes, who are so blind as to raise thrones on the ruins of liberty, are erecting their own sepulchral monuments, which will announce to future generations that they preferred their infatuate ambition to liberty and glory.

The constitutional limits of the president of Bolivia are the strictest of any that are known. He merely nominates the officers of the revenue, of peace and war, and commands the army. These are his functions.

The administration wholly belongs to the ministry, is responsible to the censors, and is subject to the zealous vigilance of all the legislators, magistrates, judges, and citizens. The custom-house officers and soldiers, the sole agents of that ministry, are certainly not the persons best qualified to gain for it the favour of the people; therefore its influence will be nullified.

The vice-president is the magistrate of all others that has any command, whose hands are most shackled; for he has to obey both the legislative and the executive branch of a republican government. He receives laws from the former, and orders from the latter; and between those two barriers he must proceed in a narrow path, bounded by precipices. Notwithstanding so many disadvantages, this mode of government seems preferable to an absolute monarchy. These constitutional barriers expand the political conscience, and animate it with the firm hope of meeting with the torch which is to guide it through the rocks by which it is surrounded; they serve as a check to the impulse of our passions, operating in concert with foreign interests.

In the government of the United States, it has latterly been the practice to nominate the prime minister as successor to the president. Nothing can be more suitable to a republic than this method; as it unites the advantage of putting at the head of administration a man experienced in the management of the state. He is already a completely finished statesman when he enters upon the exercise of his functions, and is accompanied by the halo of popular favour, as well as supported by consummate experience and practice. I have adopted this idea, and established it as a law.

The president of the republic nominates the vice-president as the person who is to administer the state, and to succeed him in command. By this precaution are those elections avoided which produce that great scourge of republics, anarchy, which constitutes the luxury of tyranny; and is the most immediate and most terrible danger of popular governments. You see in what manner the most tremendous crisis befalls republics as well as legitimate kingdoms.

The vice-president must be a man of the most upright and pure character: because, if the first magistrate were not to elect a very upright citizen, he would have cause to fear him as an obdurate enemy, and to suspect his secret ambition. This vice-president must endeavour to merit, by his good services, the credit of which he stands in need for the due performance of his functions, that he may hope for that great national reward, the supreme command. The legislative body and the people will require capacities and talents of a superior order, on the part of this magistrate, and exact from him an implicit obedience to the laws of liberty.

Inheritance perpetuates the monarchical régime, and renders it almost general in the world. How much more useful is the method I have just proposed for the succession of the vice-president! If hereditary princes were chosen according to merit, and not by fate, accident, or casualty; and if, instead of remaining inactive, in sloth and ignorance, they placed themselves at the head of administration, they would, doubtless, be more enlightened monarchs, and ensure the happiness of the people. Yes, legislators! the monarchy which governs the earth has obtained its titles to approbation from inheritance, which renders it stable; and from unity, which renders it strong. Wherefore, though a sovereign prince be a spoiled child, shut up in his palace, nurtured in adulation, and guided by all sorts of passions, such a prince, whom I may venture to call the mockery of human nature, commands mankind, because he preserves the order of things, and subordination among citizens, by a firm power and unity or constancy of action. Consider, then, legislators, that all these great advantages are combined in a president for life, and an hereditary vice-president.

The judicial power which I propose enjoys an absolute independency; which is not elsewhere to be found. The people present the candidates, and the legislative body chooses the individuals who are to compose the tribunals. If the judicial power do not emanate from this source, it cannot possibly preserve the safeguard of individual rights in all their purity. Those rights, legislators! constitute liberty, equality, and security—all the guarantees of social order. The true liberal constitution consists in civil and criminal laws; and the tribunals exercise the most terrible tyranny by means of the tremendous instrument of the laws. In ordinary matters, the executive is only the depository of the public weal; but the tribunals are the arbitrators of property, and of all things belonging to individuals. The judicial authority holds the measure of the welfare or of the misery of citizens; and if liberty and justice exist in a republic, they are distributed by that power. Sometimes the political organization of a state matters little, provided that its civil organization be perfect; that the laws be fulfilled with religious strictness, and be deemed as fixed as destiny itself.

In conformity with the feelings and fears of the present times, it was to be expected that we should prohibit the use of tortures and of confessions, and that we should shorten and abridge the protracted pleadings in the intricate labyrinth of appeals.

The territory of the republic is governed by prefects, governors, corregidors, judges of peace, and alcaldes. I was unable to enter into the details of the interior régime and faculties of their jurisdiction; but it is my duty forthwith to recommend to congress the suitable regulations for the service of the departments and provinces. Bear in mind, legislators, that nations consist of cities, villages, and hamlets; and that their well-being constitutes the happiness of the state. You will never be able to bestow too much attention on the good government of the departments. This is a point of paramount importance in legislative science, notwithstanding which it is too much neglected.

I have divided the armed force into four parts: the army of the line; the fleet; the national militia; and the military preventive service. The army is destined to garrison the frontiers. God forbid that it may ever turn its arms against the citizens! The national militia suffices to preserve internal order. Bolivia does not possess an extensive coast, and, for that reason, a navy is useless; we must, however, one day acquire both. The military protective service is, in every respect, preferable to guards; such a service being rather immoral than superfluous. It, therefore, is for the interest of the republic to garrison its frontiers with troops of the line, and troops of the protective service, to repress smuggling and frauds on the revenue.

I have thought it necessary that the constitution of Bolivia ought to be reformed from time to time, as the progressive movements of the moral world might require it. The paths of reform have been pointed out in terms which I have deemed most suitable to the occasion.

The responsibility of the officers is prescribed in the Bolivian constitution in the most efficient manner. Without responsibility, without repressive coercion, the state becomes a chaos. I venture most earnestly to request the legislators to enact strong and well-defined laws on this subject. Every one talks of responsibility, but it exists only in name. There is no responsibility, legislators! the magistrates, judges, and officers abuse their authority, because it is not vigorously enforced in the agents of administration; while the citizens suffer by this abuse. I shall recommend a law which will prescribe a mode of annual responsibility for every man in office.

The most perfect guarantees have been established. Civil liberty is the true liberty; all other kinds are merely nominal, or of little influence with respect to the citizens. Personal safety has been guaranteed, which is the end of society, and from which all other securities emanate. With regard to the security of property, that depends on the civil code, which your wisdom is bound to frame instantly for the happiness of your fellow-citizens. I have left untouched that law of laws—equality, without which all other guarantees perish, as well as all other rights. To that law we are bound to make sacrifices. I have laid prostrate at her feet the infamous state of slavery, covered with humiliation.

Legislators! Slavery is the infringement of all laws. A law having a tendency to preserve slavery would be the grossest sacrilege. What right can be alleged in favour of its continuance? In whatever view this crime is considered, I am persuaded that there is not a single Bolivian in existence so depraved as to pretend that such a signal violation of the dignity of man can be legalized. Man, to be possessed by his fellow-man—man to be made a property of!—The image of the Deity to be put under the yoke! Let these usurpers of man show us their title-deeds? The coast of Guinea has not sent them to us; for Africa, devastated by fratricide, exhibits nothing but crimes. After these relics of African tribes are transported hither, what law or power can sanction a dominion over the victims? The transmitting, continuing, and perpetuating of this crime, with its admixture of executions, is a most shocking outrage. A principle of possession, founded on the most ferocious delinquency, could not be conceived without overturning and confounding all the elements of right, and perverting the most absolute notions of duty. No one can break asunder the sacred dogma of equality; and is slavery to exist where equality reigns? Such contradictions would rather impugn our reason than our justice. We should then be deemed insane rather than usurpers.

If there did not exist a God, protector of innocence and of liberty, the fate of the generous lion reigning in deserts and woods would be preferable to that of a captive in the service of an infamous tyrant, who, as an accomplice of his crimes, provokes the wrath of Heaven. But no: God has intended man for liberty! He protects him, that he may exercise the heavenly function of *free will.*

Legislators! I shall make mention of an article, which in my conscience I ought to have omitted. No religious creed or profession should be prescribed in a political constitution; for according to the best doctrines concerning fundamental laws, these are the guarantees of civil and political rights; and as religion touches none of those rights, she is, in her nature, not to be defined in the social order, and belongs to intellectual morality. Religion governs man at home, in the cabinet, and in his own bosom, within himself; she alone has a right to examine his most secret conscience. The laws, on the contrary, consider and view the exterior of things; they only govern out of doors, and not within the houses of citizens. Applying these considerations, how can the state rule the consciences of its subjects, watch over the fulfilment of religion, and reward or punish, when the tribunals of all those matters are in heaven, and when God is the Judge? The inquisition alone could replace these in this world; and is the inquisition, with its incendiary fagots and piles, to return amongst us?

Religion is the law of conscience. Every law on this subject annuls religion, as, by imposing necessity upon duty, it would take away the merit of faith, which is the basis of religion. The precepts and sacred dogmas are useful and luminous; they rest on metaphysical evidence; and we ought to profess them: but this is a moral, and not a political duty.

On the other hand, what are the rights of man with regard to religion in this world? They are in heaven. There is the tribunal which recompenses merit, and renders justice according to the code dictated by the Legislator. As all this belongs to divine jurisdiction, it strikes me, at first sight, as sacrilegious and profane to mix up our ordinances with the commandments of the Lord. It therefore belongs not to the legislator to prescribe religion; for the legislator must impose penalties on the infringement of the laws, to avoid their becoming merely expressions of counsel and advice. When there are neither temporal penalties, nor judges to inflict them, the law ceases to be law.

The moral development of man is the first intention of the legislator. As far as this development has taken place, man supports his morality by revealed truths, and professes it *de facto*, which is the more efficacious, the more he has acquired it by his own investigation. Besides, fathers of families cannot neglect their religious duties towards their children. The spiritual shepherds are bound to teach the knowledge of heaven; the example of the true disciples of Jesus is the most eloquent lesson of his divine morality; but morality is not commanded, nor is he who commands it the master, nor ought force to be employed in giving counsel. God and his ministers are the authorities of religion, which operates by means exclusively spiritual; but by no manner of means is the national body a religious authority, that body having solely the direction of public power to objects purely temporal.

Legislators! What generous and sublime thoughts must fill your souls, when you see the new Bolivian nation already proclaimed! The accession of a new state to the society of those already existing forms a just subject of exultation for mankind, as it augments the great family of nations. What then must be the exultation of its founders! and my own!!! Seeing myself placed on a level with the most celebrated sages of antiquity, with the founder of the Eternal City! This glory by right appertains to the institutors of nations, who, being their first benefactors, must have received immortal rewards; but mine, besides its immortality, possesses the merit of being gratuitous, not having been deserved. Where is the city, where is the republic, which I have founded? Your munificence in dedicating a nation to me has surpassed all my services, and is infinitely superior to all the good which men can do to you.

My despair increases, when I contemplate the immensity of your reward; for even had I concentrated the talents, virtues, and the very genius of the greatest of heroes, I should be nevertheless unworthy of the name which you have chosen to give yourselves—My own name!!!—Shall I talk of gratitude, when that sentiment cannot otherwise than feebly express what I experience from your goodness, which, like the divine goodness, passes all limits! Yes; God alone had the power of naming this country Bolivia . . . . . What means the word Bolivia? A boundless love of liberty, at the receiving of which your enthusiasm saw nothing equal to its value. Your ecstasy, finding no demonstration adequate to the vehemence of your feelings, extinguished your own name, and gave mine to yourselves and all your posterity. This has no parallel in the history of the world; it is unexampled in the records of sublime magnanimity. So great an action will show to after times, which exist in the mind of the Eternal, that you aspired to the possession of your rights, which consist in the power of exercising your political virtues, in the acquisition of luminous talents, and in the enjoyment of being *Men*. This noble deed, I repeat it, will prove that you were entitled to obtain the grand blessing of Heaven, the *Sovereignty of the People*—the only legitimate authority of nations.

Legislators! You are so fortunate as to preside over the destinies of a republic which at its birth was crowned with the laurels of Ayacucho, and which must perpetuate its happy existence under the laws dictated by your wisdom, in the calm which has succeeded to the tempest of war.

Lima, the 25th May, 1826. BOLIVAR.

PROJECT OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA.

In the name of God, the General Constituent Congress of the Bolivian Republic, named by the people to form the constitution of the state, decrees as follows:

TITLE I.—OF THE NATION.

Chapter 1.—*Of the Bolivian Nation.*

Article 1. The Bolivian nation consists in the union of all Bolivians.

2. Bolivia is, and ever shall be, independent of foreign dominion; and cannot become the patrimony of any person or family.

Chapter 2.—*Of Territory.*

3. The territory of the Bolivian republic comprises the departments of Potosi, Chuquisaca, La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, and Oruro.

4. It is to be divided into departments, provinces, and cantons.

5. That division which shall be found most convenient is to be made by a law; and another law is to fix its limits, with the concurrence of the adjoining states.

TITLE II.—OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Chapter 1.—*Form of Government.*

6. The government of Bolivia is a popular representative government.

7. The sovereignty emanates from the people, and its exercise is vested in the powers which this constitution establishes.

8. For its exercise the supreme power is divided into four sections: Electoral, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

9. Each power will exercise the attributes which this constitution assigns to it, without exceeding their respective limits.

Chapter 2.—*Of the Bolivians.*

10. The following are Bolivians:

1. All the natives of the territory of the republic.

2. The sons of a Bolivian father or mother, born out of its territory, as soon as they legally manifest their intention to settle in Bolivia.
3. The Liberators of the republic, declared and recognised as such by the law of the 11th August, 1825.
4. Foreigners, who obtain letters of naturalization, or have resided three years in the territory of the republic.
5. All those who, up to the present day, have been slaves, and who are *de facto* made free by the very act of the publication of this constitution. By a special law the indemnity shall be determined which is to be granted to their former owners.

11. The duties of every Bolivian are:
1. To live in submission to the constitution and to the laws.
2. To respect and obey the constituted authorities.
3. To contribute to the public expenses.
4. To sacrifice his property, and even his life, whenever the safety of the republic shall so require.
5. To watch over the preservation of public liberty.

12. The Bolivians who may be deprived of the exercise of the electoral power shall enjoy all the civil rights granted to citizens.

13. To be a citizen, it is necessary—
1. To be a Bolivian.
2. To be married, or to be upwards of twenty-one years of age.
3. To be able to read and write.
4. To follow some occupation, employment, or branch of industry, or to profess some art or science, without being subject to any other person as domestic servant.

14. The following are citizens:
1. The Liberators of the republic. (Art. 10. 3.)
2. Foreigners who have obtained letters of citizenship.
3. Foreigners intermarried with Bolivians, fulfilling the conditions 3 and 4, Art. 13.
4. Unmarried foreigners, who have resided four years in the republic, fulfilling the same conditions.

15. The citizens of American nations, formerly belonging to

Spain, shall enjoy the rights of citizenship in Bolivia, according to the treaties that may be concluded with them.

16. Only those who are active citizens can obtain any employment, office, or public charge.

17. The exercise of citizenship becomes suspended—

1. By mental derangement.
2. By incurring the disgrace attached to fraudulent debtors.
3. By being subject to a criminal process.
4. By being a notorious drunkard, gambler, or beggar.
5. By buying or selling votes at elections, and disturbing the good order of the same.

18. The right of citizenship is lost—

1. By treason to the public weal.
2. By naturalization in foreign countries.
3. By having undergone a defamatory penalty, or an afflictive punishment, in virtue of a judicial condemnation.

TITLE III.—OF THE ELECTORAL POWER.

Chapter I.—*Of Elections.*

19. Active citizens are in the immediate exercise of the electoral power, every ten of them naming one elector.

20. The exercise of the electoral power can never be suspended; and the civil magistrates must, without waiting for any order, assemble the people precisely within the period pointed out by the law.

21. A special law shall set forth in detail the regulations which concern the elections.

Chapter 2.—*Of the Electoral Body.*

22. The electoral body is composed of the electors named by popular suffrage.

23. When the electors are assembled in the capital of the province, they shall name, by plurality of votes, a president, two scrutineers, and a secretary, out of their own number. These shall discharge their duty during the whole time of the duration or existence of the body.

24. Each electoral body is to be continued four years, at the

expiration of which time it is to cease, leaving its successors installed.

25. The electors shall be assembled every year, on the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th day of January, to exercise the following functions:

1. To qualify the citizens who enter into the exercise of their rights, and to suspend those who may be in the predicaments mentioned in Articles 17 and 18.
2. To elect and propose in ternaries: 1st. To the respective chambers, the members who are to compose them, or to fill vacancies in them. 2d. To the executive power, the candidates for the prefectures of their department, for the government of their province, and for corregidors of their cantons and towns. 3d. To the prefect of the department, the alcaldes, and justices of peace who are to be appointed. 4th. To the senate, the members of the courts of the judicial district to which they belong, and the judges of primary instance. 5th. To the executive power, the curates and vicars, for the vacancies in their provinces.
3. To receive the acts of popular elections, to ascertain the identity of the parties newly elected, and to declare them constitutionally appointed.
4. To petition the chambers for whatever they may deem conducive to the welfare of the citizens, and make complaint of any grievances or wrongs which they may have suffered from the constituted authorities.

TITLE IV.—OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

Chapter 1.—*Of the Division, Attributes, and Restrictions, of this Power.*

26. The legislative power emanates immediately from the electoral colleges named by the people. Its exercise resides in three chambers: 1. The tribunes; 2. The senators; 3. The censors.

27. Each chamber is to be composed of thirty members, during the first twenty years.

28. On the   day of the month of   in each year, the legislative body is to assemble of its own accord, without awaiting any formal convocation.

29. The particular attributes of each chamber shall be detailed in their proper place. The general attributes are:

1. To nominate the president of the republic for the first time, and to confirm those who shall succeed to that office.
2. To approve the vice-president proposed by the president.
3. To determine the place where the seat of government is to be fixed; and to transfer it to another place whenever important circumstances require such a change, and whenever it may be resolved upon by two-thirds of the members composing the three chambers.
4. To determine, in *national judgment*, whether there be or be not ground of process against the members of the chambers, the vice-president, and the secretaries of state.
5. To invest, during times of war, or any extraordinary danger, the president of the republic with such powers as shall be deemed indispensable for the salvation of the state.
6. To select from among the candidates presented in ternaries by the electorate colleges, those members who are to fill up the vacancies of the chambers.
7. To settle the internal police by suitable regulations, and to punish any infringement thereof by its members.

30. The members of the legislative body may be appointed vice-presidents of the republic, or secretaries of state, on vacating their seats in the chamber.

31. No individual of the legislative body can be arrested during the time of his continuing a deputy, but by order of the chamber to which he belongs, unless he be detected *in flagrante delicto,* in the commission of a crime deserving capital punishment.

32. The members of the legislative body shall be inviolable in

their persons, on account of any opinion they may pronounce within their chambers, in the exercise of their functions.

33. Every legislature is to last four years, and every annual session two months. These sessions are to be opened and closed at one and the same time by the three chambers.

34. The opening of the session is to take place annually, in the presence of the president of the republic, of the vice-president, and of the secretaries of state.

35. The sittings shall be public, and only in case of state affairs requiring secrecy are they to be private.

36. Questions in each chamber are to be decided by an absolute majority of votes of members present.

37. The official functionaries who may be appointed deputies to the legislative body are to be replaced, *ad interim*, in the exercise of their official duties, by other individuals as substitutes.

38. The restrictions on the legislative body are these:

1. No sitting of the chambers can take place without the presence of one moiety and one more member of the respective individuals composing the same; and absentees shall be compelled to attend and fulfil their duties.
2. None of the chambers can originate a bill respecting particular branches which the constitution commits to the charge of a distinct chamber; but they may invite other chambers to take into consideration such motions as are made.
3. No member of the chambers can obtain for himself, during the time of his deputation, any promotion, except such as accrues to him in the regular gradation of his advancement.

39. The chambers shall meet—

1. At the opening and closing of their sessions.
2. For the purpose of investigating the conduct of any minister that may be accused by the chamber of censors.
3. For the purpose of revising any laws that may be returned by the executive.
4. Whenever such meeting is requested by any one of the chambers on good grounds, as in the case mentioned in the 39th Article, 3d attribute.

5. For the purpose of confirming the office of president to the vice-president.

40. At the meeting of the chambers, one of their presidents is to preside by turns.

Chapter 2.—*Of the Chamber of Tribunes.*

41. To be a tribune, it is necessary—
    1. To be an active citizen.
    2. To have attained the age of five and twenty years.
    3. Never to have been convicted in any criminal case.

42. The tribunate has the right to initiate—
    1. The settlement of the territorial division of the republic.
    2. The annual contributions and public charges.
    3. The granting authority to the executive for negotiating loans, and the adoption of measures for the extinction of the public debt.
    4. The regulation of the value, impress, alloy, weight, and denomination of coin, as well as the regulation of weights and measures.
    5. The qualification of ports of every class.
    6. The construction of roads, causeways, bridges, and public buildings, the improvement of police, and of branches of industry.
    7. The regulation of the salaries and pay attached to officers of state.
    8. The reforms that may be deemed necessary in the revenue branches and in the war department.
    9. The declaration of war or peace at the proposal of government.
    10. Treaties of alliance.
    11. The permission of transit to foreign troops.
    12. The amount of land and sea forces for the service of the year at the proposal of government.
    13. The ordinances of the navy, army, and national militia, at the recommendation of government.
    14. The direction of foreign affairs.
    15. The granting of letters of naturalization and citizenship.
    16. The granting of general pardons.

43. The chamber of tribunes is to be renewed by moieties every two years, and its continuance is to be for four years. In the first legislature, the moiety which retires at the end of two years is to be determined by lot.

44. Tribunes may be re-elected.

Chapter 3.—*Of the Chamber of Senators.*

45. The requisites for being a senator are:
   1. The qualifications requisite for electors.
   2. The age of five-and-thirty years complete.
   3. The never having been found guilty of any criminal act.

46. The attributes and duties of the senate are:
   1. The formation of civil and criminal codes, laws relative to judicial procedures, to commerce, and ecclesiastical regulations.
   2. The initiation of all laws respecting the reforms of judicial proceedings.
   3. To enforce the prompt administration of justice, in civil as well as criminal cases.
   4. To propose laws for preventing infractions of the constitution and the laws by magistrates, judges, and ecclesiastics.
   5. To exact responsibility from the superior tribunals of justice, from prefects, magistrates, and inferior or subaltern judges.
   6. To propose, in ternaries, to the chamber of censors, the individuals who are to compose the supreme tribunal of justice, the archbishops, the bishops, dignitaries of the church, canons, and prebendaries of cathedrals.
   7. To approve or reject the prefects, governors, and corregidors, whom the government presents from the ternary formed by the electoral bodies.
   8. To elect from the ternary, presented by the electoral bodies, the district judges, and all the subalterns of the department of justice.
   9. To regulate the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage, and propose laws touching all ecclesiastical affairs which have any relation to the government.
   10. To examine the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, bulls,

rescripts, and pontifical briefs, for the purpose of approving or disapproving them.

47. The duration of members of the senate shall be eight years; one moiety to be renewed every four years, the first moiety of the first legislature going out by lot.

48. The members of the senate may be re-elected.

Chapter 4.—*Of the Chamber of Censors.*

49. The requisites for being a censor are:

1. The qualifications requisite for senators.
2. To be full forty years of age.
3. The never having been found guilty of a misdemeanor, however slight.

50. The duties and attributes of the chamber of censors are—

1. To see that the government do fulfil and cause to be fulfilled the constitution, laws, and public treaties.
2. To denounce before the senate the infractions which the executive may make in the constitution, the laws, and the public treaties.
3. To demand of the senate the suspension of the vice-president and secretaries of state, whenever the safety of the republic shall urgently demand such a measure.

51. It belongs exclusively to the chamber of censors to accuse the vice-presidents and the secretaries of state before the senate, in cases of treason, commotions, or manifest violation of the fundamental laws of the state.

52. If the senate deems the accusation preferred by the chamber of censors to be well founded, then the *national judgment* will take place; and if, on the contrary, the senate should pronounce a negative, then the accusation will be referred to the chamber of tribunes.

53. If two chambers agree, the *national judgment* is to be opened.

54. Then the three chambers are to unite, and, on view of the documents presented by the chamber of censors, they shall decide, by absolute plurality of votes, whether or not there be ground for a prosecution of the vice-president or of the secretaries of state.

55. As soon as the *national judicature* shall have decided that

there is sufficient cause for prosecuting the vice-president or the secretaries of state, then these officers are, by such act, instantly suspended from their functions, and the chambers shall submit the whole of the antecedent documents to the supreme tribunal of justice, which is exclusively to take cognizance of the matter; and the sentence pronounced by them shall be executed without appeal.

56. As soon as the chambers declare that there is cause for prosecuting the vice-president and secretaries of state, the president of the republic is to propose to the united chambers a candidate for the vice-presidentship, *ad interim*, and nominate secretaries of state *ad interim*. If the first candidate be rejected by an absolute plurality of votes of the legislative body, then the president is to propose a second candidate; and if this be likewise rejected, he is to propose a third candidate; and if this one be also rejected, then the chambers shall elect, by plurality of vote, in the space of twenty-four hours, one of three candidates proposed by the president.

57. The vice-president elected *ad interim* shall discharge his functions from the moment of this proceeding until the issue of the judgment against the accused.

58. By a law, which is to be originated in the chamber of the censors, all cases are to be determined in which the vice-president and secretaries of state are either jointly or separately responsible.

59. To the chamber of censors it also belongs—

1. To choose from the ternary presented by the senate the individuals who are to form the supreme tribunal of justice, and those who have the presentation to vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, canonries, and prebends.
2. To propose all laws respecting the press, economy, plans of instruction, and methods of public teaching.
3. To protect the liberty of the press, and to name the judges by whom all causes relating to it are to be finally decided.
4. To propose regulations for the encouragement of arts and sciences.
5. To grant national rewards to such as, by their services, deserve well of the republic.

6. To decree public honours to the memory of great men, and of the virtues and services of citizens.
7. To condemn to eternal opprobrium the usurpers of public authority, great traitors, and atrocious criminals.

60. The censors are appointed for life.

Chapter 5.—*Of the Formation and Promulgation of Laws.*

61. The government may propose to the chambers such projects of laws as it shall deem expedient.

62. The vice-president and the secretaries of state may attend the sittings, and discuss the laws and other business; but they cannot either vote or be present while the votes are given.

63. When the chamber of tribunes shall adopt a project of a law, they are to transmit it to the senate in the following form:

> "The chamber of tribunes transmits to the chamber of senators the annexed project of law, and believes it to be well founded."

64. If the chamber of senators approve the project of law, they will return it to the chamber of tribunes in the form following:

> "The senate returns to the chamber of tribunes the project of law (with or without amendment), and believes that it ought to be forwarded to the executive, to be put in force."

65. All the chambers shall, in similar cases, observe the same form.

66. If one chamber disapproves the amendments or additions of another, and if the chamber which proposed it deems the project, such as it was first proposed, to be advantageous, it may, by a deputation of three members, invite a meeting of the two chambers, to discuss such project, or the amendment made to it, or its rejection. Such meeting of the chambers shall have no other object than the desire of coming to an understanding, after which each is to return and to adopt such deliberation as it may think fit.

67. After the adoption of the project by two chambers, two copies thereof are to be forwarded to the president of the re-

public, signed by the president and secretaries of the chamber from whence the law emanates, in the form following:

> "The chamber of , with the approbation of transmits to the executive power the law respecting , for promulgation."

68. If the chamber of senators should refuse the adoption of the project of the chamber of tribunes, it is to be transmitted to the chamber of censors in the form following:

> "The chamber of senators transmits to that of the censors the annexed project, not deeming it meet or convenient." Whatever the chamber of censors then determines shall be final and definitive.

69. If the president of the republic thinks the law unsuitable, he must return it within the term of ten days to the chamber that sent it, with his observations, and in the form following:

> "The executive believes this to require reconsideration."

70. The laws which were enacted within the last ten days of the session may be retained by the executive till the next session, when it must return them, together with its observations thereon.

71. When the executive power returns the laws with observations to the chambers, these shall meet; and whatever they decide by plurality of votes shall take effect without any further discussion or observation.

72. If the executive power have no observation to make on the laws, it will assent to their promulgation in the form following:

> "BE IT PROMULGATED."

73. The laws are to be promulgated in the following form:

> "We, N. N. president of the Bolivian republic, inform all Bolivians that the legislative body has decreed, and that we publish, the following law. [Here the text of the law is set forth.] We hereby command all the authorities of the republic to fulfil the same, and cause the same to be fulfilled."

> "The vice-president will cause this to be printed, published, and circulated among all whom it may concern." It is to be signed by the president, vice-president, and the respective secretary of state.

74. The projects of law which originate in the senate are to be transmitted to the chamber of censors, and if there approved, will acquire the form and validity of law. If the censors refuse their approbation, the project of law is to be transmitted to the chamber of tribunes, and its decision will then be completed, as has been stated with respect to the chamber of tribunes.

75. The projects of law originated in the chamber of censors shall be transmitted to the senate, whose sanction will give them the form of law. But in case of their rejecting the project, it is then to be transmitted to the tribunate, who can adopt or reject, as in the case of the preceding article.

TITLE V.—OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

76. The exercise of the executive power is vested in a president for life, a vice-president, and three secretaries of state.

Chapter 1.—*Of the President.*

77. The president of the republic is to be named for the first time by the absolute majority of votes of the legislative body.

78. The requisites for being eligible as president of the republic are:

1. Being an active citizen and native of Bolivia.
2. Being upwards of thirty years of age.
3. Having rendered important services to the republic.
4. Possessing known talents in the administration of the state.
5. Not having ever been condemned by the tribunals, even for slight offences.

79. The president of the republic is the chief of the administration of the state, without responsibility for the acts of the said administration.

80. On the resignation, death, infirmity, or absence, of the president of the republic, the vice-president shall be *ipso facto* his successor.

81. In the absence or non-existence of the president and vice-president of the republic, the three secretaries of state will,

ad interim, take charge of the administration; the oldest in office acting as president, until the legislative body shall assemble.

82. The functions of the president of the republic are:

1. To open the session of the chambers, and to present to them a message concerning the state of the republic.
2. To propose to the chambers the vice-president, and to name of himself the three secretaries of state.
3. Himself to remove the vice-president and secretaries of state when he deems fit.
4. To cause the laws to be published, to circulate them, and cause them to be respected.
5. To authorize the regulations or orders for the best possible fulfilment of the constitution, laws, and public treaties.
6. To forward and cause to be executed the sentences of the tribunals of justice.
7. To require the legislative body to prorogue its sittings for the space of thirty days.
8. To convoke extraordinary sittings of the legislative body, in case of absolute necessity.
9. To dispose of the permanent land and sea forces, for the external defence of the republic.
10. To command in person the armies of the republic, in peace and in war. Whenever the president absents himself from the capital, the vice-president shall be charged with the command of the republic.
11. When the president directs the war in person, he may reside in any part of the territory occupied by the national army.
12. To dispose of the national militia for internal security within the limits of its departments and beyond them, with the consent of the legislative body.
13. To appoint all the officers in the army and navy.
14. To establish military and nautical schools.
15. To cause military hospitals and receptacles for invalids to be established.
16. To grant permission to retire, and leave of absence; to grant pensions to soldiers, and provide for their families

according to the laws, and by them to regulate all other matters in this department.

17. To declare war in the name of the republic, after a decree of the legislative body.
18. To grant letters of marque and reprisal.
19. To attend to the collection and application of taxes according to law.
20. To name the revenue officers.
21. To direct the diplomatic negotiations, to conclude treaties of peace, friendship, federation, alliance, suspensions of arms, armed neutrality, commerce, and all other, of every description, always with the previous approbation of the legislative body.
22. To appoint the public ministers, consuls, and subalterns of the foreign department.
23. To receive foreign ministers.
24. To allow or suspend the decision of councils of the church, pontifical bulls, briefs, and rescripts, with consent of the power in the state concerned therein.
25. To present to the senate, for its approbation, one of three candidates proposed by the electoral body, for the situation of prefects, governors, and corregidors.
26. To present to the ecclesiastical government one of the three candidates proposed by the electoral body, as curates and vicars of the provinces.
27. To suspend, for as long as three months, any officer, when it may be requisite.
28. To commute capital punishments decreed by the tribunals against culprits.
29. To transmit, in the name of the republic, the commissions and appointments to all functionaries.

83. The restrictions on the president of the republic are:
    1. The president cannot deprive a single Bolivian of his liberty, nor inflict punishment of his own accord.
    2. When the safety of the republic requires the imprisonment of one or more citizens, he cannot keep the accused longer than forty-eight hours, without delivering him over to the proper tribunal or judge.

3. He cannot deprive any individual of his property, unless the public interests urgently demand it; and then a just indemnity must be previously given to the proprietor.
4. He cannot impede the elections, or other functions, which the laws commit to the divers powers of the republic.
5. He cannot absent himself from the territory of the republic, or from the capital, without permission of the legislative body.

Chapter 2.—*Of the Vice-President.*

84. The vice-president is named by the president of the republic, and approved by the legislative body, in the manner mentioned in the 56th Article.

85. By a special law, the mode of succession is to be determined, comprising all the cases that can occur.

86. For the place of vice-president the same qualifications are requisite as for the president.

87. The vice-president of the republic is the head of the ministry.

88. He and the secretary of state of the respective department shall be responsible for the administration of the state.

89. He shall, in the name of the republic and of the president, despatch and sign all the affairs of the administration in conjunction with the secretary of state in the respective department.

90. He cannot absent himself from the territory of the republic, or from the capital, without permission from the legislative body.

Chapter 3.—*Of the Secretaries of State.*

91. There shall be three secretaries of state. One of them is to take charge of the government department and foreign affairs, the other of the department of finance, and the third of war and marine.

92. These three secretaries are to despatch business under the immediate orders of the vice-president.

93. Neither the tribunals nor any of the public authorities shall fulfil any orders of the executive, which are not signed by the vice-president and the secretary of state of the corresponding department.

94. The secretaries of state are to be responsible with the vice-president for all the orders they may authorize contrary to the constitution, the laws, and public treaties.

95. They are to make estimates of the annual charges to be incurred in their respective branches, and to give an account of those incurred the preceding year.

96. The requisites of a secretary of state are:

1. To be an active citizen.
2. To have completed the age of thirty years.
3. Never to have been condemned in any criminal case.

TITLE VI.—OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

Chapter 1.—*Attributes of this Power.*

97. The tribunals and seats of judgment exercise no other functions than that of applying the existing laws.

98. The magistrates and judges are to continue during good behaviour.

99. The magistrates and judges cannot be suspended from their office, but in cases prescribed by law; the enforcement of which, respecting the former, belongs to the senate; and that respecting the latter belongs to the district courts, with the previous cognizance of government.

100. An action or process on the part of the people lies in case of any heavy offence of the magistrates or judges in the discharge of their respective official duties, which must be commenced within the space of a year, through the intervention of the electoral body.

101. Justice is to be administered in the name of the nation, and the acts of the superior tribunals are to be executed in the same way.

Chapter 2.—*Of the Supreme Court.*

102. The first judicial magistracy of the state is vested in the supreme court of justice.

103. The supreme court is to consist of a president, six other members, and a fiscal, divided into suitable sections.

104. The requisites for members of the supreme tribunal of justice are:

1. Being thirty-five years of age.
2. Being an active citizen.
3. Having been member of some of the judicial district courts; and, until those shall be organized, advocates are eligible, who have, during eight years, exercised their profession with credit.

105. The functions of the supreme tribunal of justice are:

1. To take cognizance of criminal causes against the vice-president of the republic, the secretaries of state, and members of the chambers, whenever the legislative body shall order a prosecution to be instituted against them.
2. To take cognisance of all contested causes in matters of ecclesiastical patronage.
3. To examine bulls, briefs, and rescripts, that relate to civil matters.
4. To take cognizance of causes in which are concerned ambassadors, resident ministers, consuls, and diplomatic agents.
5. To take cognizance of the removal of magistrates of the courts of judicial districts, and prefects of the departments.
6. To adjust the differences of the courts of justice amongst themselves, or with other authorities.
7. To take cognizance in the third instance of the residence of every public functionary.
8. To take into consideration the doubts of the other tribunals respecting the interpretation of any law, and to consult with the executive for promoting a suitable declaration in the chambers.
9. To take cognizance of appeals of nullity, which may be interposed against the sentences pronounced in the last instance by courts of justice.
10. To examine the state and progress of civil and criminal

cases and suits, which may be pending in the district courts, by such means as the law may establish.

11. Finally, to exercise a high control, directive, economical, and correctional, over the tribunals and judicial courts of the nation.

Chapter 3.—*Of the Courts of Judicial Districts.*

106. The requisites for a member of this court are:

1. Being full thirty years of age.
2. Being an active citizen.
3. Having been a judge learned in the law, or having exercised the profession of an advocate for five years with credit.

107. The functions of the judicial district courts are:

1. To take cognizance in the second and third instance of all civil causes in common law, public revenue, commerce, mining, prizes, confiscation of goods in conjunction with an individual of each of these professions as judge associate.
2. To take cognizance of disputed jurisdictions between all the subordinate judges of their judicial district.
3. To take cognizance of the forced appeals which may be introduced from the ecclesiastical tribunals and authorities in the territory of such court.

Chapter 4.—*Judicial Districts.*

108. In the provinces there shall be established judicial districts proportionally equal, and in every capital of a district there shall be a judge learned in the law, with such jurisdiction as shall be determined by law.

109. The powers of these judges shall be limited to suits at law, and they can take cognizance in civil matters to the extent of two hundred dollars, without appeal.

110. The requisites for a judge are:

1. The age of eight-and-twenty years.
2. Being an active citizen.
3. Being an admitted advocate in some tribunal of the republic.

4. Having exercised the profession for four years with credit.

111. The judges learned in the law are personally responsible for their conduct before the judicial district courts, as the individual members of these are before the supreme tribunal of justice.

Chapter 5.—*Of the Administration of Justice.*

112. There shall be justices of peace in every town, to promote reconciliations; no demand for redress, civil or criminal, being admissible without such previous endeavour.

113. The ministry of the conciliators is limited to hearing the representations of the parties, explaining their rights to them, and proposing a prudent accommodation between them.

114. Fiscal or revenue actions admit of no accommodation.

115. No more than a first, a second, and a third instance are allowed in the judgments.

116. The appeal of notorious injustice is abolished.

117. No Bolivian can be arrested without previous information of the fact, by which he may become liable to corporal punishment, and a summons in writing from the judge before whom he is to be brought, except in the cases provided in the 83d article, 2d restriction; 123 and 133.

118. Instantly, if that be possible, his declaration is to be given without oath, and is in no case to be delayed longer than forty-eight hours.

119. Any delinquent taken *in flagrante delicto,* may be arrested by any person whomsoever, and be carried before a judge.

120. In criminal causes, the trial and judgment are to be public. The fact is to be investigated, and declared by the jury (when this institution shall have been established), and the law is to be applied by the judges.

121. Torture is never to be applied, nor is any confession to be exacted.

122. All confiscations of property are abolished, as likewise every sort of cruel punishment, and hereditary infamy or corruption of blood. The criminal code shall restrict, as much as possible, the application of capital punishment.

123. If, under any extraordinary circumstances, the public

safety should require the suspension of any of the formalities prescribed in this chapter, the chambers shall be empowered to decree such suspension. And if the chambers should happen not to be assembled, and sitting at the time, then may the executive provisionally discharge these functions, rendering an account of the same at the next meeting of the chambers, and remaining in the mean time responsible for the abuses that may have been committed.

TITLE VII.—OF THE INTERIOR GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Single Chapter.

124. The superior political government of every department is vested in a prefect.

125. That of every province in a governor.

126. That of the cantons in a corregidor.

127. In every town, whose population is not below one hundred souls, in itself, or within its boundary, there shall be a justice of peace.

128. Where the population of such town, or its territory, exceeds one thousand souls, it shall have (in addition to a justice of peace for every two hundred souls), an alcalde; and where the number of souls exceeds a thousand, there shall be a justice of peace for every five hundred, and an alcalde for every two thousand.

129. The offices of the alcaldes and justices of peace are obligatory; and no citizen can, without just cause, claim an exemption from discharging those offices.

130. The prefects, governors, and corregidors, are to continue in the discharge of their functions for four years, but may be re-elected after the expiration of that term.

131. The alcaldes and justices of peace are to be relieved every two years, but may be re-elected.

132. The duties of prefects, governors, corregidors, and alcaldes, are to be defined by law, for the maintenance of public order and security, with gradual subordination to the supreme government.

133. They are prohibited from taking any judicial cognizance; but should the public safety require the apprehension of any individual, and circumstances not allow him to be denounced before the respective judge, they may forthwith order his apprehension, and give notice to the corresponding court of justice within eight-and-forty hours. Any abuse committed by these magistrates, with respect to personal or domestic security, will be ground of action at common law.

TITLE VIII.—OF THE ARMED FORCE.

Separate Chapter.

134. There is to be in the republic a permanent armed force.

135. The armed force is to consist of the army of the line, and of a naval squadron.

136. There are to be in every province bodies of national militia, composed of the inhabitants of each province.

137. There is to be likewise a military preventive service, principally intended to impede all clandestine trade, or smuggling. The particular organization and composition of this corps is to be detailed in a special regulation.

Chapter 1.—*Reform of the Constitution.*

138. If, after the lapse of years from the time when the oaths of allegiance to the constitution were taken, it shall be perceived that its articles require to be reformed, a written proposition to that effect shall be made, and signed by at the least ten members of the chamber of tribunes, which must have the support of two-thirds of the members present in the chamber.

139. This proposition is to be read three times, at an interval of six days between each of the readings; and after the third reading, the chamber of tribunes is to deliberate whether such proposition is to be debated or not: in all other respects, the foregoing regulations for the enactment of laws shall be observed.

140. The discussion being allowed, and the chamber being convinced of the necessity of reforming the constitution, a law is to be enacted, commanding the electoral bodies to confer on the deputies of the three chambers special powers for altering or re-

forming the constitution, stating the basis on which such reform is to be founded.

141. In the first sessions of the legislature, following that in which the motion for altering or reforming the constitution was first submitted, shall the matter be proposed and discussed; and that which the chambers resolve upon shall take effect, the executive power having been consulted on the expediency of the reform.

Chapter 2.—*Presentation and Responsibility of Functionaries.*

142. When candidates for official situations are to be proposed, three persons shall be put in nomination, and submitted to the executive power; who will select one, and return him for confirmation to the corresponding chamber. Should the chamber not approve him, a second is to be presented; and if the second be likewise rejected, a third is to be presented; and should the chamber again withhold its approbation, it shall then peremptorily admit one of the three proposed by the executive.

143. The holders of public offices and trusts are held strictly responsible for the abuses they may commit in the performance and discharge of their functions.

TITLE IX.—OF GUARANTEES.

Single Chapter.

144. The constitution guarantees to the citizens civil liberty, security of persons and property, and equality in the eye of the law.

145. All citizens may communicate their thoughts either verbally or in writing, and publish the same by means of the press, without the previous intervention of censorship; but under such responsibility as the law may determine.

146. Every Bolivian may remain within the territory of the republic, or leave it, as it suits him best, and carry his property away with him; subject, however, to the regulations of the police, and without prejudice to the rights of a third party.

147. Every Bolivian's house is an inviolable asylum. No person can enter it by night without his consent; and even in the

daytime it may only be entered in the cases and in the manner pointed out by the law.

148. The taxes and contributions are to be proportionally raised and levied without any exemption or privilege whatever.

149. All hereditary employments, privileges, and entails, are abolished; and all property, though belonging to pious works and religious institutions, or other objects, is alienable.

150. No species or description of work, industry, or trade, can be prohibited, provided they be not repugnant to the public usages, or to the safety and good health of the Bolivians.

151. Every inventor is to be secured in the full property of his discovery and its products. The law shall ensure him an exclusive privilege or patent for a certain time, or a compensation for the loss he may incur by making it public.

152. The constitutional powers cannot suspend the constitution nor the rights belonging to Bolivians, except in the cases and under the circumstances expressed in the same constitution, when the term of such suspension must be indispensably mentioned.

(O.)

Resignation *of* Bolivar *addressed to the Senate.*

" Head-quarters, Caracas, February 6, 1827.

" To His Excellency the President of the Honourable Chamber of the Senate.

" Most Excellent Sir,

" Under no circumstances has the august authority of congress been so necessary to the republic as at this period, when internal disagreement has divided their minds, and excited commotions throughout the whole nation. Called by your excellency to take the oath of office, as president of the republic, I came to the capital, whence I was obliged to set out for the department of ancient Venezuela. On my way from Bogota to this city, I issued some important decrees, which were called for by urgent necessity. Your excellency will have the goodness to direct the attention of congress to them, and beseech it, in my name, to take them into serious consideration. If I have exceeded my powers, let me bear the blame; I am willing to sacrifice even my innocence to the salvation of my country. That sacrifice only was wanting, and I glory in not having shunned it. When I learned in Peru, by an official notice, my appointment to the presidency of the republic, which the people had conferred on me, my answer to the executive government was a refusal to accept of the first magistracy of the nation. I have been for fourteen years supreme chief and president of the republic; I have been forced by the perils of the times to fill that office; but those perils no longer exist, and I may retire to the enjoyment of private life. I beg of the congress to recollect the situation of Colombia, of America, of the whole world. Every thing conspires to flatter us. There is not a Spaniard on the American continent. Domestic peace has reigned in Colombia since the commencement of this year. Many powerful nations recognize our political existence, and some of them are our allies. A large portion of the American states are confederated with Colombia, and Great Britain menaces Spain. What mighty hopes are ours! The immensity of the gifts which Providence has prepared for us are contained in the hidden abyss of time. Providence alone is our guardian. As to myself the suspicions of a tyrannic usurpation disturb my mind, and weaken the confidence of the Colombians. The zealous republicans cannot look on me without a secret fear, inasmuch as history has told them that all, in similar circumstances, have been ambitious. In vain I seek to defend myself by the example of WASHINGTON; and, in truth, one, or even many exceptions, can effect nothing against the experience of a whole world, ever oppressed by the powerful. I am grieved between the troubles of my fellow-citizens and the sentence which I expect from posterity. I do not feel myself innocent of ambition, and for my own sake I wish to snatch myself from the grasp of this fury; to free my fellow-citizens from uneasiness; and to secure after my death a remembrance worthy of liberty. With such sentiments I renounce for ever *(mil y millones de veces)* the presidentship. The congress and the people may look upon this renunciation as irrevocable. Nothing shall have the power to prevail on me to continue in the public service after having employed in it the whole of my past life; and now that the triumph has conferred rights so sublime upon all, shall I alone be deprived of that prerogative? No, the congress and the Colombian people are just; they will not seek to give me up to the ignominy of *desertion*. But a few days now remain to me: I have passed more than two thirds of my life; let me then be permitted to hope for an obscure death in the silent retirement of my paternal mansion. My sword and heart will nevertheless ever be Colombia's, and my last sigh will ascend to heaven for her happiness.

"I implore from the congress and from the people the favour of simple citizenship.

"God preserve your excellency,

"Most excellent sir,

(Signed) "SIMON BOLIVAR."

(P.)

Proclamation of Bolivar, dated 19*th June,* 1827.

"Colombians! your enemies threaten the destruction of Colombia: it is my duty to save it.

"I have now been fourteen years at your head, by the almost unanimous wish of the people. At every period of the glory and prosperity of the republic I have resigned the supreme command with the most perfect sincerity. I have desired nothing so much as to divest myself of irresponsible power; an instrument of tyranny which I detest even more than ignominy itself. But, ought I to abandon you in the moment of peril? Would it be the conduct of a soldier or a citizen? No, Colombians! I am resolved to confront every danger rather than anarchy should usurp the laws of liberty, or rebellion that of the constitution.

"As a citizen, as liberator and president, my duty imposes upon me the glorious necessity of sacrificing myself for you. I march, then, to the southern confines of the republic, to expose my life and my fame, to free you from those perfidious men, who, after trampling on their most sacred duties, have raised the standard of treason to invade the departments which have proved themselves most faithful and most worthy of our protection.

"Colombians! the national voice is suppressed by that modern prætorian band, which have taken upon them to dictate laws to the sovereign which they ought to obey. They have arrogated to themselves the supreme rights of the nation; they have violated every public principle; in a word, the troops, which were Colombians, the auxiliaries of Peru, have wished to establish in their country a novel and foreign government upon the spoils of the republic; and, in their outrages and insults, surpass even our ancient oppressors.

"Colombians! I appeal to your glory and to your patriotism. United round that national flag, which has been borne in triumph from the mouth of the Orinoco to the summits of Potosi, continue your attachment to it, and the nation will yet preserve its liberty, and again repose, with full confidence, on the national will for the decision of its destinies. The 'grand convention' is the cry of Colombia, and of most urgent necessity to its welfare. The grand convention I shall without delay convoke, and in its hands I shall deposit the baton and the sword which were given to me by the republic; yes, which were confided to me by the people as constitutional president, as invested with supreme extraordinary authority in the state. We have obtained freedom, and glory, and laws, in spite of our enemies. That freedom, that glory, and those laws, we will preserve in spite of a monstrous anarchy.

(Signed) "BOLIVAR.

"Head-quarters, Caracas, 19th June, 1827."

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